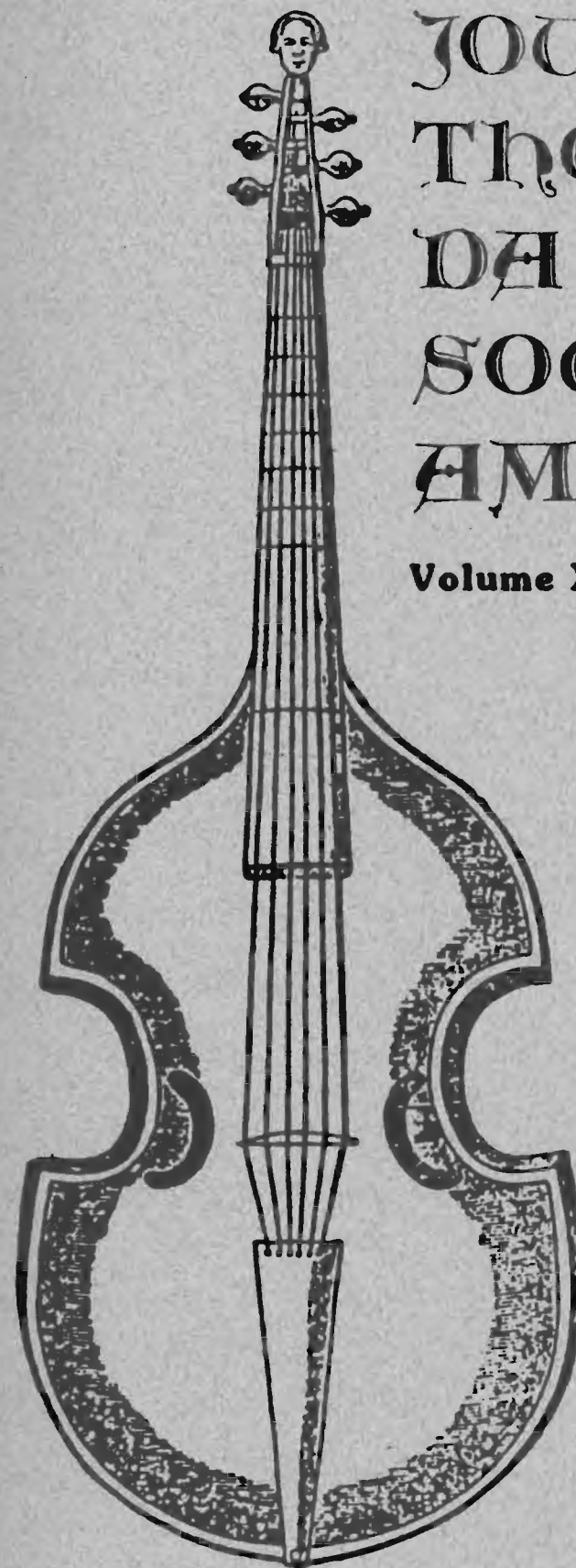


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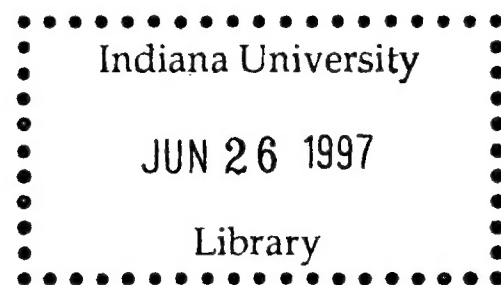
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Violin
Music

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Our readers may note several changes on our Editorial Board. Newton Blakeslee retired from the Board last fall; we are grateful for his many years of generous service to the *Journal*. As we were about to go to press, we received word of his death on May 3rd, 1997. Stuart Cheney has joined the Board and is our new Review Editor. Thomas MacCracken gave up the job of Production Editor when he took over editorship of the *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*; he continues as a member of our Editorial Board, where his expertise and wisdom are much appreciated. Jean Seiler has generously expanded her role to include production, with invaluable assistance from Roland Hutchinson. Your Editor finds herself in the luxurious state of having none of the pain and all of the pleasure of being in this position. Our expectation is that with this new team, the *Journal* will not only become more efficient, but will reach out to a greater number of writers of articles and reviews.

Caroline Cunningham

A TRIBUTE TO ELIZABETH COWLING

Martha Bishop

Elizabeth Cowling, Vice President of the Viola da Gamba Society of America from 1964 to 1971, was born in 1910 in Northfield, Minnesota, and died on February 18, 1997, in Greensboro, North Carolina. She led a remarkable life as a teacher, scholar, and performer—particularly as a cellist, but also as a viola da gamba supporter and enthusiast.

Her childhood in Northfield was spent with sisters Dossie (Dorothy), Mingie (Mary Ellen), and Peg (Margaret) in rich intellectual surroundings; her father, Donald J. Cowling, was the distinguished President of Carleton College. Elizabeth, known as Betty to her friends, struggled as a child under her father's domination, sensing that he wished her to be a son rather than another daughter. One of Betty's outstanding childhood memories was of the time when the whole Cowling household was quarantined with scarlet fever. Betty didn't get sick, but she had to move out of the house for over two months. Another significant childhood event was the time she was won over to the cello by a traveling cellist visiting in the Northfield home, and from that time on, nothing could dissuade her from her desire to play the cello to the best of her abilities.

Elizabeth Cowling attended Carleton College, where she received a B.A. degree in Philosophy, and then went to Columbia University in New York City, where she received an M.A. degree in Economics. These degrees were earned to pacify her father, but her real love was music. Upon graduation she held an administrative position at Knox College, when she decided to pursue the cello more seriously. Her early cello studies included working with famed cellist and pedagogue Paul Bazelaire in Paris in 1929, with cellist Mischa Schneider of the Budapest String Quartet, and with Dudley Powers at Northwestern University.

She began teaching cello at Greensboro Woman's College (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro) in 1945.



Elizabeth Cowling, 1910–1997

She continued her cello studies, with Luigi Silva at the Eastman School of Music (1945) and as a select student of Pablo Casals at Prades in 1950. The student/teacher relationship with Silva grew to a collaborative working relationship that lasted until Silva's death in 1961. Like Silva, Miss Cowling dedicated herself completely to students and teaching, with performance and research as supporting endeavors.

It was during these years at the Woman's College that Miss Cowling organized a small group of enthusiastic viol players from the college personnel, who met weekly to play fantasias. She also was active in the VdGSA at this time, attending Conclaves and serving as our Vice President. Her housemate of many years and viol player in the local consort, Amy Charles, contributed to the *VdGSA Journal* an article about George Herbert (a seventeenth-century poet and viol player).

On the cello front, Miss Cowling was directly responsible for the University of North Carolina at Greensboro's acquiring the Silva cello music library and Silva papers in 1963. Her own collection of cello music was given to the University's library, vastly strengthening the holdings of cello music especially in early Italian literature (more than three hundred sonatas representing fifty-plus composers). In 1975, Elizabeth, by then Dr. Cowling, wrote a comprehensive history, *The Cello*, published by Batsford in London and Scribners in New York, with a Japanese translation appearing in 1989.

The efforts of Dr. Cowling to strengthen the University of North Carolina at Greensboro's cello library (now known as Cello Music Collections) attracted other cellists to contribute their holdings, and these include the libraries of Maurice Eisenberg, Rudolph Matz, Janos Scholz, and Dimitry Markevitch. Dr. Cowling retired from the University's music faculty in 1976. A formal program to honor her achievements and to dedicate the Cello Music Collections library was held in 1993. On that auspicious occasion the University of North Carolina at Greensboro Cello Ensemble performed, directed by Elizabeth Anderson.

Though she considered herself primarily a cellist, Elizabeth Cowling nonetheless did a great deal to foster the viola da gamba. She brought into the U.S. one of the first historical instruments, a

viola bastarda from William Hill and Sons, in the 1950s. To her cello students such as myself, this was a fascinating and unique instrument—she played Abel so exquisitely! Being of the nineteenth-century school, Miss Cowling used an endpin and no frets, and her instrument, technically a viola bastarda, did not have sympathetic strings. My memory doesn't serve me properly enough to know if she used an underhand or overhand bow grip. Regardless, I was captivated!

Elizabeth Cowling's greatest contributions were probably due to her mesmerizing talents as a teacher, be it of cello or gamba, music history or appreciation, theory or counterpoint. In a recent publication of the W.C.U.N.C. Class of 1949 Gift Committee she was acclaimed by one of her former students, Betty Jane Carr Pulkingham, in an article entitled "Teachers We Never Shall Forget . . .":

A jaunty figure of a woman. . . . Her eyes twinkle. . . . With each step her brown, slightly wild, musicianly hair bounces a bit. . . . I have seen an artist, a teacher, a lover of life and beauty pass by. My life is enriched. It's not so much what she has taught me about harmony, although her teaching has been thorough and I have fallen in love with the subject matter. But it is more than that. This woman exudes the mystique of music from her very being. Its joy and beauty permeate her soul, and are reflected back to those around.

As one of Miss Cowling's many cello students, I wholeheartedly concur with Ms. Pulkingham's comments! Miss Cowling inspired her students to be beyond their best. She instilled in us a desire to learn more, play better, and let the music speak. When she played her gamba for us—the first time I ever heard one—it was a magical moment. Through her generosity I am now the proud owner of that instrument. I think of her as a wonderful teacher and friend, one who was vitally interested in many aspects of life—politics, economics, sociology, the arts, and humanity—but who chose music to express her views.



Elizabeth Cowling's viola bastarda,
now owned by Martha Bishop

THE USE OF MOTIVIC AND THEMATIC MATERIAL IN THE MUSIC OF TOBIAS HUME

Sterling Scott Jones





In the process of preparing an edition in transcription of all the music by Tobias Hume¹ I became aware of certain motivic and thematic material recurring in pieces with similar or related titles, suggesting a kind of *leitmotiv* technique, a term familiar to us in music dating from a much later period. One can define the term as a brief passage or fragment of music used to characterize a person, idea, or mood. Elements of this technique are clearly revealed in Hume's music. He makes use of borrowed thematic material, from his own music as well as literal quotes from pieces by John Dowland. He also employs thematic material such as dance tunes and bass patterns commonly in use at the time. This study gives detailed examples of how and where Hume makes use of these techniques in his music.

Motivic Associations

Hume frequently gives colorful titles to his pieces, and various motives recur in pieces that have similar subjects indicated by their titles. This is not to say that such motives are not also used in his other pieces, but a certain pattern of usage does seem apparent in pieces with related titles. The following identifies some of these motives and indicates the pieces where they appear.



Several motives, based essentially on rhythmic patterns, have the character of a horn-call, which is not surprising in light of Hume's military career and his interest in the hunt. One senses on his part a kind of pleasure, perhaps even erotic, in these activities. There is the bravura of conquering on the battlefield and at hunting, as well as the eroticism of conquering in matters




¹*Tobias Hume / Ayres / Poetical Musicke*, ed. S. Jones (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1980). The measure numbers in the charts are based on this edition. Piece numbers follow those of Hume's original publications (see note 11). Note-values are generally halved, but quartered in black triplas.

of love. Motives that one might call "military" or "pleasure" motives appear rhythmically as  or as  in no. 4: *A Souldiers March* and no. 11: *A Souldiers Resolution*. The latter motive appears also in no. 1: *The Souldiers Song*. It is one of Hume's most frequently used motives and is well exemplified in no. 5: *My Mistresse Familiar*, no. 79: *A Freemans Song*, no. 99: *The Duke of Holstones delight*, and no. 21 in the second book: *A Spanish Humor*. A distinctive melodic version of this pattern might be called an "erotic" motive , which appears for example in no. 31: *My Mistresse hath a pritty thing* as well as no. 33: *Hit it in the middle*, and in no. 34: *Tickell, Tickell* where it takes a slightly altered form in a descending sequence , all these titles revealing Hume's rather indelicate but playful mind (see chart 1).




Thematic Associations



A theme used extensively by Hume in many of his serious pieces, such as pavans and character pieces with titles indicating a more somber mood, may be outlined as follows:

 and may be called the "serious" theme. The leap of an octave is sometimes replaced by that of a fifth, as in no. 115: *Captaine Humes Lamentations*, or by a unison continuation, as in no. 70: *A Galliard 1*. In *Sweet ayre*, no. 18 of the second book, the theme uses the octave leap version followed shortly thereafter by that of the unison placed below it. In several instances a motivic element also recurs:  (see chart 2).

Another extensively used theme occurs in many pieces having titles associated with ladies or mistresses and can thus be labeled the "mistresse" theme. The essence of this theme is  or  or . The interval of a third is prominent in this theme and is used motivically in playful ways in some pieces, as for example at the beginning of no. 82: *Give you good morrowe Madam* (see chart 3). In no. 97: *My Mistresse little thing* there is a retrograde version of the theme, and in no. 109: *A Jigge for Ladies*, a retrograde inversion of the theme. Some of these motivic and

thematic relationships may appear to be only by chance, but there seems to be enough evidence with the "mistresse" theme to believe otherwise.

Seven pieces, all in the first book, have titles or text containing the word "love," and all have loosely related musical material. One theme begins with  and continues with , both, interestingly enough, related rhythmically to one of the "military" motives (see above). Some themes begin with an interval of an ascending fourth and then descend stepwise, while others begin with an ascending fifth but then ascend stepwise (see chart 4). No. 76: *Loves Almayne* does this with a descent of a fourth after the stepwise motion, producing a combination of both versions—the latter forward, the former retrograde: . Again, the interval of a third is prominent and is used playfully in no. 103: *Loves Pastime*.

Three pieces have the word "souldier" in their titles and reveal related thematic material in somewhat disguised forms (see chart 5). An outline of this theme is: . Two pieces refer to the King of Denmark in their titles and make common use of thematic material, as can be seen in chart 6. Use of the motive  occurs frequently in both pieces. In no. 2: *The King of Denmarkes delight*, the two "military" motives (see above) appear frequently in the second half of the piece. No. 25: *The Hunting Song* also has an association with the King of Denmark, who visited the court of James I in 1606. Hume states at the end of his hunting song that it was performed before two kings, presumably referring to this occasion, and in fact motivic references to the other two pieces are found in the song (see chart 6).

Borrowed Material

As mentioned above, Hume also makes use of musical material other than his own. One of the most striking examples

of this is his use of the famous *Lachrimae*² theme by John Dowland, originating in Dowland's song *Flow, my teares*.³ Chart 7 shows how Hume incorporates this "grief" melody into many of his own pieces. He also uses related material from the second and third sections of the Dowland song (see chart 8). There is an arrangement of Dowland's *Sorrow, stay*⁴ with viol accompaniment by William Wigthorpe, and the passage in chart 9 shows how Hume makes use of similar movement in several of his pavans. Dowland's music seems to have had a strong influence on Hume's output, as can be seen further in the interesting example *Can she excuse my wrongs*⁵ by Dowland which has the Passamezzo antico (or Romanesca) pattern in the bass. Hume combines within the first two phrases of a monophonic piece (no. 71: *A Galliard 2*) a reference to Dowland's melody as well as to the bass pattern (see chart 10). The second tablature part of no. 5 in the second book: *My joyes are comming* also shows strong ties to the Dowland melody. In addition to the bass patterns just mentioned above, several of Hume's pieces make use of the *Folia* bass pattern as shown also on chart 10.

Some popular Alman tunes of the period appear to have influenced several of Hume's pieces. The beginning of no. 6: *The Duke of Holstones Almayne* by Hume has a similar head melody as *The Queenes Alman*⁶ by William Byrd from the

²John Dowland, *Lachrimae or Seaven Teares*, 1604. Lute version in *The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland*, ed. D. Poulton (Kassel: Faber / Bärenreiter, 1974), 67, no. 15. Five-part version published in John Dowland, *Complete Consort Music for Viols and Recorders*, ed. Edgar Hunt (London: Schott, 1985).

³John Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1600. In *The English School of Lutenist Song Writers*, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, vol. 3 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1922), 6.

⁴*Ibid.*, 12. The Wigthorpe version has the title *Sorrow, come* and is published in *Musica Britannica XXII*, "Consort Songs," ed. Philip Brett (London: Stainer & Bell, 1967), 100.

⁵John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1597. In *Musica Britannica VI*, "Ayres for Four Voices," ed. Thurston Dart and Nigel Fortune (London: Stainer & Bell, 1953), 5. Also in *The English School of Lutenist Song Writers*, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, vol. 1 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1924), 18.

⁶*The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, ed. J. A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire (1899; reprint, New York: Dover, 1963), vol. 2, no. CLXXII.

Fitzwilliam Virginal Book and the *Almande de La nonette*⁷ from the Susanne van Soldt Manuscript. Hume's no. 96: *The second part* shows a similar head theme as *Almande Brun Smeedelyn*⁸ from the Soldt Manuscript (see chart 11). The first three measures of a piece entitled *Captaine Humes Lamentations* (no. 115) show a striking resemblance to the beginning of a *Pavan*⁹ by Holborne published in 1599, a theme used often by other composers of the day such as Jenkins, Morley, Coprario, and Locke¹⁰ (see chart 12).

In all of these examples we see that Hume was very familiar with the musical language of his day. The question remains open as to whether Hume intentionally made reference to well-known pieces of the time, pieces that appeared before his own publications of 1605 and 1607.¹¹ More than likely it was common practice to use what was popular at the time, such as the Dowland songs, the dance tunes, and the familiar bass patterns, similar to the way modern jazz musicians use standard tunes today. What appears to be new in Hume's music, and in this way comparable to Wagner, is the association of certain motives and themes with particular moods, states of mind, and even individuals.

The Charts

These charts are in general self-explanatory, so not every example has been addressed in the descriptions above. Some of the elements may not be readily clear, since the themes and

⁷"Susanne van Soldt Manuscript," in *Monumenta Musica Neerlandica III*, ed. A. Curtis and S. Jones (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1961), 6, no. III.



⁸*Ibid.*, 22, no. XIII.

⁹Anthony Holborne, *Pavans, Galliards, Almains and Other Short Aeirs both Grave and Light, in Five Parts for Viols, Violins, or Other Musically Winde Instruments*, London, 1599, ed. S. Beck (New York: 1940), no. 41. Also in Anthony Holborne, *Pavans, Galliards, & Almains for Five Instruments*, ed. Bernard Thomas (London: London Pro Musica Edition, 1980).

¹⁰See Brian Woods, *Computer Key to the Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, published for the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain, 1986.

¹¹Tobias Hume, *The First Part of Ayres*, London, 1605, and *Captaine Humes Poeticall Musicke*, London, 1607. Facsimile edition ed. Frank Traficante, published as vol. 6, nos. 24 and 25 in *English Lute Songs 1597-1632: A Collection of Facsimile Reprints* (Menston: Scolar Press, 1969).

motives frequently appear in altered forms. The "military" motive may be in augmented rhythm, or a theme may be embedded in an extended melodic structure, sometimes transposed or with changed tonal relationships within the theme as in some examples of the "serious" theme. The lining up of the music and the vertical guide lines are intended to help the reader follow the course of these themes and motives as they are used in the various examples.

In finding thematic relationships in pieces with similar subjects or titles, one becomes aware of other unifying motivic elements that are sometimes, but not always, related to the theme itself. They are therefore included because they appear in pieces with related titles. An example of this is the last title *Loves Pastime* on chart 4. The use of motives  and 

occurring in "King of Denmark" pieces on chart 6—motives that are not necessarily a part of the theme—appears to further intensify the relationship of those titles.

Although the guide lines in chart 10 show only the bass patterns, it is interesting to see how the Dowland melody *Can she excuse my wrongs* is embedded in the texture of some of these patterns. The melody notes are indicated by asterisks.

The reader may wonder if some of the less obvious relationships pointed out in this study were chosen simply to support the conclusions. If it is felt that the evidence is a bit thin in some pieces, it is at least an amusing game, after finding the obvious, to look for additional common musical material in pieces with similar characteristics or subjects as indicated by their titles—a game that I believe Hume also enjoyed when composing his music.

Chart 1: The "military-pleasure" motives

The Souldiers Song
(Bk. I, no. 1, mm. 2-3, 13-14)
the bravery of glittering shields, Look, o me thinks I see

(mm. 28-32)
tar ra rara ra ra tarra(rara)ra ra tarra ra ra [ra ra] tar ra ra ra [ra ra] ra.

A Souldiers March
(Bk. I, no. 4, mm. 23-25)

(mm. 38-39)

(mm. 67-69)

A Souldiers Resolution
(Bk. I, no. 11, mm. 24-27)

My Mistresse Familiar
(Bk. I, no. 5, mm. 14-15)

A Freemans Song
(Bk. I, no. 79, mm. 5-6)

The Duke of Holstones
delight
(Bk. I, no. 99, mm. 8-9)

A Spanish humor
(Bk. II, no. 21, mm. 14-15)

My Mistresse hath
a pritty thing
(Bk. I, no. 31, mm. 12-14)

Hit it in the middle
(Bk. I, no. 33, mm. 22-26)

Tickell, Tickell
(Bk. I, no. 34, mm. 7-10)



Chart 2: The "serious" theme with other motivic relationships

Deth
(Bk. I, no. 12, mm. 1-3)

A Pavan
(Bk. I, no. 42, mm. 1-3)

(mm. 5-6)

A Preludum
(Bk. I, no. 51, m. 1)

A Galliard I
(Bk. I, no. 70, mm. 1-2)

A Galliard
(Bk. I, no. 77, mm. 1-2)

A Meditation
(Bk. I, no. 78, mm. 1-4)

Alas poore men
(Bk. I, no. 114, mm. 1-3)

(mm. 4, 6-8)

A - las poore men, to have more time and space

Captaine Humes
Lamentations
(Bk. I, no. 115, mm. 1-3)

Cease leaden slumber
(Bk. II, no. 1, mm. 2, 4-5)

Cease lead-en slum-ber dreaming the cause of sweet mu-sickes

The state of Gambo
(Bk. II, no. 16, mm. 1-3)

Sweet ayre
(Bk. II, no. 18, mm. 1-4)

Chart 3: The "mistresse" theme with other motivic relationships

My Mistresse Familiar
(Bk. I, no. 5, m. 1)

Tom and Mistresse Fine
(Bk. I, no. 21, m. 1)

My Mistresse hath a pritty thing
(Bk. I, no. 31, m. 1)

Rossamond
(Bk. I, no. 35, mm. 6-7)

My Mistresse Maske
(Bk. I, no. 58, mm. 1-2)

My Mistresse Almaine
(Bk. I, no. 75, m. 1)

(mm. 5-6)

Give you good morrowe Madam
(Bk. I, no. 82, mm. 1-4)

(mm. 10-11)

(mm. 14-15)

Mistresse Tittles Jigge
(Bk. I, no. 86, m. 1)

My Mistresse humor when she hath
(Bk. I, no. 93, mm. 8-9)

(m. 13)

My Mistresse little thing
(Bk. I, no. 97, mm. 1-2)

A Jigge for Ladies
(Bk. I, no. 109, mm. 1-2)

(m. 5, repeated in 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17)

The Second part of Rossamond
(Bk. I, no. 110, mm. 1-2)

(mm. 13-14, repeated in 17-18)

Chart 4: The "love" theme with various motivic relationships

Adue sweete Love
(Bk. I, no. 8, mm. 1-2)

Loves Farewell
(Bk. I, no. 47, mm. 1-2)

(mm. 10-12)

Fain would I change that note
(Bk. I, no. 112, mm. 9-10)

yet when this thought doth come

(mm. 11-12)

Love is the per - fect summe

Loves Galiard
(Bk. I, no. 49, mm. 1-4)

(mm. 9-10)

Loves Almayne
(Bk. I, no. 76, mm. 1-2)

Fain would I change that note
(Bk. I, no. 112, mm. 1-4)

Fain would I change that note to which fond love hath charmed me

Loves Almayne
(Bk. I, no. 76, mm. 7-8)

Loves Pashion
(Bk. I, no. 102, mm. 1-2)

(m. 9)

Loves Pastime
(Bk. I, no. 103, mm. 1-4)

(mm. 19-20)

Chart 5: Related themes for three "souldier" titles

The Souldiers Song
(Bk. I, no. 1, mm. 1-4)

Sing the praise of hon - or'd wars, the glo - ry of wel gouden skars, the

A Souldiers March
(Bk. I, no. 4, mm. 92-97)

A Souldiers Galiard
(Bk. I, no. 48, mm. 3-8)

brav - ery of glittering shields, of lust - y harts and fa - mous fields:

Chart 6: Related material for three "King of Denmark" pieces

The King of Denmarks delight
(Bk. II, no. 2, mm. 1-5)

The King of Denmarks health
(Bk. II, no. 24, mm. 1-5)

The King of Denmarks delight
(Bk. II, no. 2, mm. 18-21)

The Hunting Song
(Bk. II, no. 25, mm. 4-7, 65-66)

Come, come my hearts a hunting let us wende,

(mm. 98-99)

Why heavenlier sport then this there cannot be.

(mm. 103-104)

they all come frowling, trowling, trow - ling (trowling)

Chart 7: Quoted and related material from Dowland's "Flow, my teares"

Flow, my teares, Lachrimae
John Dowland

A Humorous Pavan
(Bk. I, no. 43, mm. 1-4)

A pavan
(Bk. I, no. 44, mm. 11-12)

A Pavane
(Bk. I, no. 45, mm. 3-5)

What greater griefe
(Bk. I, no. 113, mm. 1-3)
What greater griefe then no re-liefe

I am Melancholy
(Bk. I, no. 106, mm. 1-3)

Deep thoughts revived
(Bk. I, no. 108, mm. 4-6)
(mm. 19-20)

My hope is revived
(Bk. II, no. 4, mm. 1-2)

Sweet ayre
(Bk. II, no. 18, mm. 1-2)

Chart 8: More related material from Dowland's "Flow, my teares"

Flow, my teares, Lachrimae
John Dowland (second section)

A Humorous Pavan
(Bk. I, no. 43, mm. 4-6)

Flow, my teares, Lachrimae
John Dowland (third section)

A Humorous Pavan
(Bk. I, no. 43, mm. 13-15)

Captaine Humes Pavan
(Bk. I, no. 46, mm. 27-30)

Chart 9: Related material from Dowland's "Sorrow, stay"

Sorrow, come
(John Dowland
Sorrow, stay)
but down, down, down, down I fall,

Accompaniment arranged for
viols by William Wighthorpe
(mm. 48-51)

A pavan
(Bk. I, no. 45, mm. 25-27)

Captaine Humes Pavan
(Bk. I, no. 46, mm. 29-32)

Chart 10: Related material from Dowland's "Can she excuse my wrongs"
and commonly used bass patterns

Can she excuse my wrongs
John Dowland

Passamezzo antico

Romanesca

Captaine Humes
Galliard
(Bk. I, no. 50, mm. 1-6)

The Lord Beccus
Almayne
(Bk. I, no. 68, mm. 1-6)

A Galliard 2
(Bk. I, no. 71, mm. 1-7)

A Galliard 3
(Bk. I, no. 72, mm. 1-6)

A Meditation
(Bk. I, no. 78, mm. 1-5)

My joyes are comming
(Bk. II, no. 5, mm. 1-5)

Folia

Tom and Mistresse Fine
(Bk. I, no. 21, mm. 1-4)

A Caveleiros Humor
(Bk. I, no. 59, mm. 1-2)

Chart 11: Theme relationships with other contemporary sources

The Queenes Alman
The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book
(no. CLXXII)

Almande de La nonette
Susanne van Soldt Manuscript
(no. III)

The Duke of Holstones Almayne
(Bk. I, no. 6, mm. 1-2)

Almande Brun Smeedelyn
Susanne van Soldt Manuscript
(no. XIII)

The second part
(Bk. I, no. 96, mm. 1-2)

Chart 12: "Serious" motive relation to Anthony Holborne: Pavan

Pavan
Anthony Holborne

A Preludum
(Bk. I, no. 51, m. 1)

Captaine Humes
Lamentations
(Bk. I, no. 115, mm. 1-3)

THE VIOL IN BACH'S PASSIONS: A PERFORMER'S NOTES

Myrna Herzog

Some of the most extraordinary works employing the viol were written by J.S. Bach, among them the musical settings of the *St. Matthew Passion* (BWV 244) and the *St. John Passion* (BWV 245)—the culmination of all Passion music.

This traditional genre, with roots in the Middle Ages, reached its maturity only after the rise of the seventeenth century's eloquent musical style, which provided the means for full dramatic expression, particularly important in music that sought to convey a religious message.

Several innovations resulted from this new aesthetic that we now call "Baroque": a symbolic meaning was attributed to instruments, character to keys (as a result of the advent of unequal circular temperaments), and additionally, specific emotions or affections were ascribed to each movement of a work according to the so-called "Doctrine of Affections," determining the selection of instruments, keys, harmonic colors, and rhythmic and melodic motives.

Such background is significant when assessing Bach's scarce but striking use of the viol in the Passions. Its "semi-round, piercing sound"¹ is reserved as a distinctive color for prominent intervention at the height of dramatic action: when Christ is on his way to the crucifixion (*St. Matthew Passion*), when he is dying (*St. John Passion*). In both cases the viol's appearance is associated with death.

Although a single instrument could be associated with different affects and used with some degree of diversity concerning emotional-symbolic meaning, there were well-known patterns,

¹Hubert LeBlanc, *Défense de la Basse de Viole Contre les Entreprises du Violon et les Prétentions du Violoncel* (1740; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1975), 73.

and the use of the viol in connection with death in German Baroque musical literature seems to be one of them. We find it in Buxtehude's funeral dirge *Muss der Tod denn nun doch trennen*, in Telemann's *Trauerkantata Du aber, Daniel, gehe hin*, and in Bach's cantatas *Trauer Ode* (BWV 198), *Actus tragicus* (BWV 106), and *Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes* (BWV 76). It was also used in earlier Passions such as Thomas Seele's *St. John* (1643), Johann Theile's *St. Matthew* (1673), and Johann Meder's *St. Matthew* (c. 1700), and in countless works depicting painful feelings, grief, sorrow, or lamentation.

An understanding of the viol's symbolic significance and of the affective impact of its appearance in the Passions (a genre that is, after all, a mutation of opera) should awaken the player's awareness of the necessity of a rendition with *character*—that is, the recognition that one is expected to fulfill a dramatic role, and that beyond music there is theater, discourse, rhetoric.

The Music

In the *St. John Passion* the viol's sole appearance occurs in aria 58(30), "Es ist vollbracht" ("It is accomplished"),² a free text³ set for alto, viol, strings, bassoon, and continuo. Jesus delivers his last words from the cross: "It is accomplished! Oh consolation for the suffering souls! The night of mourning lets me count the last hour."⁴ Underlined by a minimal continuo, voice

²Some conductors also allot to the viol the basso continuo in aria 32(20), "Erwäge, wie sein blutgefärbter Rücken" ("Imagine that his bloodbespattered body"), for tenor, two viole d'amore, and continuo. The pieces are identified in this article by the movement number assigned to them in most piano-vocal editions followed in parentheses by the revised number from J. S. Bach, *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke* (NBA), ed. Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut Göttingen and Bach-Archiv Leipzig, Series II, vols. 4, 5, and 5a (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972-74); critical commentary by Arthur Mendel (*St. John Passion*) and Alfred Durr (*St. Matthew Passion*).

³That is, not taken from the Gospel. For the origin of the texts, see Paul Steinitz, *Bach's Passions* (London: Paul Elek, 1979).

⁴I am indebted to Michael Bar-Shany for providing, at my request, literal translations of the Passions' texts, to enable the reader to follow the German original word for word as much as possible. The translations of *St. Matthew*, confirmed by Bar-Shany as fulfilling this purpose, come from a program of a

and viol poignantly interweave in B minor, a key⁵ regarded by Charpentier (c. 1692) as "lonely and melancholic,"⁶ and by Mattheson (1719) as "bizarre, morose and melancholy," "capable of touching the heart."⁷ The conspicuous presence of sharps reminds us of *Augenmusik* ("music for the eye")—a sixteenth-century tradition of visual expression through musical signs,⁸ often encountered in Passions, exploiting the double meaning of the word *Kreuz* as the sign for sharps and as cross (Latin *crux*).

The sorrowful atmosphere of the aria is broken by a tutti section in triple time, of contrasting triumphant character: "The hero from Judah is victorious with might and ends the fight." The trumpet-like motives are appropriately set forth in D major, a "joyful and very militant" key,⁹ "best suited to noisy, joyful, warlike, and rousing things"¹⁰ and "to songs of victory."¹¹ But this outburst is soon extinguished, and the aria resumes its normal course in B minor, with an expressive viol solo led and crowned by the voice's final statement: "It is accomplished."

It is important to note that the "expressiveness" referred to here belongs to a Baroque category, with its specific internal logic (quite different from that of the Romantic period), and depends on establishing the distinction between *structural* and *decorative* features to enable the immanent vigorous rhetorical elements to come into play. In other words, the process of phrase- and speech-

performance given on March 22, 1964, at Philharmonic Hall, Lincoln Center, New York City, by the Cantata Singers and the Festival Orchestra conducted by Thomas Dunn (the gamba was played by Barbara Mueser).

⁵Also used in the *Trauer Ode*.

⁶Quoted in Rita Katherine Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 35.

⁷Quoted in Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 35, 51.

⁸Basil Smallman, *The Background of Passion Music: J. S. Bach and His Predecessors*, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged (New York: Dover, 1970), 140.

⁹Charpentier, quoted in Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 35.

¹⁰Mattheson, quoted in Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 50.

¹¹Masson (1696), quoted in Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 37.

building in the Baroque idiom can take place only if a hierarchical choice is made, expressed in more and less important, more and less accented notes. This is a basic principle for the interpretation of Baroque music and applies to all of the arias discussed here.

In the *St. Matthew Passion* the viol is scored twice in the second half, at widely separate times. Both arias are related to the Passion Chorale "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" ("O head, bloody and wounded");¹² the beginning of the first aria ("Geduld") is an ornamented version of the first seven notes of the chorale, while the beginning of the continuo part of the second aria ("Komm, süßes Kreuz") outlines the chorale's first phrase.¹³

The viol's first appearance in this Passion is in recitative 40(34), "Mein Jesus schweigt" ("My Jesus is silent"), for tenor, two oboes, viol, and continuo, followed by aria 41(35), "Geduld! wenn mich falsche Zungen stechen" ("Patience! when lying tongues prick me"), for tenor and continuo. The recitative is an outstanding example of the strength of Baroque pictorial, naturalistic writing. During interrogation, Jesus at one point remains silent; shortly after, at different moments according to the several Gospels, he is spat at, struck, slapped, hit, flogged. A free text is used by Bach to fuse those two contrasting ideas, Jesus' serene dignity and his assailants' violence: "My Jesus is silent to the false lies, thus to show us that his merciful will inclines to us in sorrow. That when we are in like pain, we may be like him, and in persecution be still." Musically, a very strong theatrical image is created; the voice floats undisturbed above the bitter combination of the oboes' piercing interjections and brisk, whip-like viol chords,¹⁴ enhancing a dissonant harmony.

Some players tend to concentrate all their efforts on managing the 3-, 4-, 5-, and 6-note chords exactly against the staccato

¹²For more information on the Passion Chorale see Steinitz, *Bach's Passions*, 74–75, 85–86, 89, 124–25.

¹³Helmuth Rilling, *Johann Sebastian Bach: St. Matthew's Passion*, trans. Keneth Nafziger (Frankfurt: Litolf/Peters, 1976), 56, 72.

¹⁴The striking of chords as the embodiment of a whip in action was suggested to me by gambist Siegfried Pank of Germany, in an informal conversation.

eighth notes of the oboes. In my opinion this misses the musical question at stake, which is the pursuit of a theatrical, dramatic effect (striking, whipping—irregular by nature) that should be the performer's true goal. Other levels of symbolism also find expression in this recitative: Rilling suggests that the thirty-nine chords struck during ten measures are Bach's indication of the origin of the text, Luther's psalm 39:10—"I am dumb, I will not open my mouth; because it is thy doing."¹⁵

It is also interesting to note that the viol itself was a later addition to the whole passage (recitative and aria).¹⁶ The tonality in question for the pair is A minor, held by Jean Rousseau (1691) as suited to "serious subjects"¹⁷ and by Mattheson as "somewhat plaintive, honorable and calm."¹⁸

The aria also is built on a free text, rich in Baroque imagery: "Patience! when lying tongues prick me. If I suffer insults and ridicule through no fault of my own, then may the loving God avenge the innocence of my heart." A similar kind of contrast between opposing ideas occurs here as in the recitative—now achieved musically by the alternating use of two distinct motives in the continuo line, played by viol and organ. The first one, present at the very opening ("Patience," first bar), mellow and calm, its melodic contours softened by ties, is soon metamorphosed into an edgy, agitated, dotted, disjunct motive ("when lying tongues prick me"), made of quicker values (sixteenths and thirty-seconds as opposed to the previous succession of eighths). The continuo is a true partner of the voice: its choice of articulation is essential for the characterization of the two different affects.

There is, nevertheless, an important unifying factor within diversity: the two motives should be pervaded by a single beating

¹⁵Rilling, *Bach: St. Matthew's Passion*, 55.

¹⁶See Steinitz, *Bach's Passions*, 81. For a reproduction of the autograph viol part see *NBA*, series II, vol. 5, pl. XIV.

¹⁷Quoted in Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 35.

¹⁸Quoted in Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 49.

heart, a stable pulse in Lully's sense—that is, occurring between long units of time, as if indicated by means of a heavy stick. This is a precondition for unveiling the motives' ornamental nature, for molding phrases that are more than a succession of notes, for conveying a feeling of discourse.

The viol's second and final appearance in the *St. Matthew Passion* happens in recitative 65(56), "Ja! Freilich will in uns das Fleisch und Blut" ("Yes! Surely will the flesh and blood in us"), for bass, two flutes, viol, and continuo, followed by aria 66(57), "Komm, süßes Kreuz" ("Come, sweet cross"), for bass, viol, and continuo, both free texts.

This recitative is a kind of annunciation of the end soon to come: "Yes! Surely will the flesh and blood in us be subdued on the cross; the more good to our souls, the more bitter the contest." The flutes' serene call-motive counters the viol's agitated arpeggios that convey a feeling of imminence, while a poised believer sings his message of redemption through suffering as a preamble to the aria. Bach's choice of instrumental colors matches the "sweet-and-sour" quality of the text ("the better . . . the more bitter"). Here again technical matters are intrinsically connected to musical ones. It is not by chance that the amount of arpeggio-playing is left by Bach as *ad libitum*; one's choice in this respect is influenced by the tempo chosen and the agitation one wishes to convey. If the tempo chosen by conductor or singer is not fast, the striking of eight up-and-down arpeggios per measure (except for the cadence in the second half of the last measure) might help to bring out the musical image built into the viol part. The last chord in measure 5 is to be played in an inverted order: B \flat (string VI) – c \sharp (V) – g (IV) – e (III).

"Komm, süßes Kreuz" is a masterly setting of a multi-dimensional painting: in one dimension, the procession escorts Jesus to the crucifixion, with Simon of Cyrene painfully dragging the cross up to Calvary—the rhythmical sensation of tread expressed by the continuo, Simon's hardship embodied by the elaborate and difficult viol line, with its recurrent dotted rhythm, eloquent chords, and dramatic leaps. In another dimension, the believer sings of the joy of sacrifice: "Come, sweet cross. So will I say: my Jesus, give it to me. If my suffering one day becomes

too heavy, then help me to bear it myself." The first sentence summarizes the wealth of affects embraced by the text: acceptance and resignation ("Come"), contentment and jubilation ("sweet"), suffering and sacrifice ("cross"). No tonality could express it better than D minor, with its "gravity mixed with gaiety,"¹⁹ "somewhat devout and calm, also grand, pleasant and expressive of contentment."²⁰

As far as instrumentation is concerned, Bach opted for a more extreme characterization, abandoning his initial choice of the lute as the obbligato instrument in favor of the seven-string viol.²¹ This would ensure the preservation of the original tessitura, while adding a note of pathos by providing an edgier and more strained sound and by invoking the affective connotations peculiar to the viol.

Technical difficulties in this aria do exist and need to be addressed in the context of typical viol technique; for example, the common rules of holding fingers down (crucial for creating a continuous sound in the many jumps and elsewhere) and lute/chord-fingering, that is, employing only the first and fourth fingers as *doigts couchés* (barring a fret across two or more strings). Since the first extended position is frequently required, warming up before performance is advisable (especially for people with small hands relative to the string length of their viol); this can be done during the first half of the concert, when one is off-stage.

Some technical problems are related to, or worsened by, the anxiety triggered by the context in which the aria is performed: after being motionless on stage for a long time, one must suddenly intervene with confidence and assertiveness, while coping with a quite challenging part (as a colleague said: "There is no problem

¹⁹Masson (1697), quoted in Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 37.

²⁰Mattheson (1713), quoted in Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 45–46.

²¹It is interesting to compare the several versions of the viol text in this aria (the earlier lute part, the autograph score, and the differing later autograph viol part), available in *NBA*, series II, vols. 5 and 5a.

with *St. Matthew's Passion*—it is just nerve-wrecking!").²² Anxiety often causes excessive bow speed, resulting in superficial sound. A slower bow is more under control and produces a fuller and more even sound. A bow that is too fast tends to affect the general speed of the piece, which then also becomes too fast. It may be useful to practice with a metronome, at an adequate speed (considering character and time signature), thoughtfully chosen. The very same metronome marking may seem at times slower or faster, making it particularly valuable to keep to the speed previously set. Sticking to a constant speed during practice helps develop regularity and control of the bow stroke and increases the feeling of security during performance.

But technical hindrances should not prevent the player from understanding and bringing out the main lines inside the very ornamental viol part. The biggest challenge here is musical, not technical, as is proven by the number of boring (but "correct"—all notes in place) recorded performances. There is a need for discrimination, within the musical material, of more and less important notes, of departing and arriving points in the shaping of musical phrases. A speech-like articulation is vital—that is, an articulation that differentiates accents within the "words," and accented "words" within the phrases. This aria's rendition, if "noty" or perfunctory, becomes a good illustration of Gustav Leonhardt's point (recently expressed in a masterclass in Jerusalem) that "when everything is important, nothing is important." If notes themselves (because of their difficulty) become the center of attention, music is necessarily set aside. But if one starts from an understanding of the music, from the building of phrases, then notes find their proper place as parts of the whole, as means of conveying a musical idea. And adequate technique is found—one that is just a tool to serve the music.

Conductors and singers tend to overlook the very chamber-music nature of the viol arias in the Passions. Though meant as

²²Some players have been successful in convincing the conductor to let them play the intervening recitatives and arias. Unless this is done, there is indeed a long interval between "Geduld" and "Komm, süßes Kreuz."

musical dialogues, as genuine chamber music, they are not infrequently treated as solos with accompaniment. The gambist faces the singer's back, unable to see the movement of the mouth and the overall expression, while often being conducted by an external party—a historically anachronistic practice that may be annoying to chamber musicians. With some luck, after a number of performances the conductor might begin to trust the performers and conduct less and less during the arias, immediately raising the level of music-making. When a conductor has musical conceptions different from the performers' it is not possible to disagree directly with him; at most one can hope to gain his trust, be set free, and then begin to influence the way the music unfolds in the course of the viol pieces. This is what I understand most colleagues do.

Tuning and Temperaments

In Baroque music, where intonation is also a means of expression, the choice of a temperament compatible with the music is a very important aspect of performance. The pursued ideal of good intonation can only occur within the boundaries of a given system. Familiarity with this system is necessary, and is influential in our ability to tune quickly and precisely (something achieved through practice).

Careful preparation of the instrument is necessary first: inspection of the smooth functioning of the pegs, of the bridge position (in regard to straightness, angle, distance from sound-holes), and of the condition of the strings. The strings are subject to frequent changes, depending on their age, on weather variations (temperature and humidity), and on the presence of new strings in the set. Strings should be checked for their capacity to yield intervals homogeneously against the frets.²³

²³This can be done by playing each string at its seventh fret position and comparing with the open-string note; the resulting fifths should be the same size. If a string is producing higher pitches than desired when pressed against the frets, a possible remedy is to insert a broken match or small piece of wood next to the nut, underneath the string. This "lengthening" of the nut shortens the open-string length, lowering the pitches of the fretted notes in relation to

Several ways of tuning the viol's open strings and frets are described in historical sources. They can be grouped under four main headings: Pythagorean intonation, just intonation, equal temperament, and meantone temperament.²⁴ According to Lindley,²⁵ Pythagorean fretting schemes might have been used in high Gothic and early Renaissance times (though there is no proof deriving from the viol repertoire), while just-intonation schemes have never left the theoretical realm. Two fretting methods were apparently used historically on viols: equal temperament and meantone.

Meantone seems to have been the most common temperament in use during the sixteenth century. In order to overcome the system's limitations, during the seventeenth century modified forms of meantone and unequal "circular" temperaments were developed, enabling the "closing" of the circle of fifths and consequently the utilization of all keys. Those circular temperaments reduced and redistributed unequally the harmonic waste formerly allocated to the wolf area, producing thirds of a different size and therefore a difference in the character of keys (unlike quarter-comma meantone and equal temperament, where all the thirds are the same size).

Fretted instruments' flexibility of intonation, acknowledged by Aron, Praetorius, and Marais,²⁶ was important in adapting to the new circular systems, but had its own limits. Those limits were

the open-string note. I am indebted to Wieland Kuijken for this very useful trick.

²⁴For a more detailed discussion, see the following: Gerrit Klop, *Harpsichord Tuning: Course Outline*, revised (Garderen: Weerkplaats voor Clavicimbelbouw, 1983); Mark Lindley, *Lutes, Viols and Temperaments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Bruce Haynes, "Temperamento per comune opinione perfettissimo: 18th-century Tuning for Singers and Orchestral Instruments," *Fellowship of Makers and Restorers of Historic Instruments (FoMRHI) Quarterly* 43 (Apr. 1986), 56–68; Elizabeth Liddle, "Tuning," Appendix I in *Play the Viol*, by Alison Crum with Sonia Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 155–64; and Owen H. Jorgensen, *Tuning* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1991).

²⁵Lindley, *Lutes, Viols and Temperaments*, 94.

²⁶Lindley, *Lutes, Viols and Temperaments*, 5, 36–41, 93.

certainly recognized by the partnership of harpsichordist and viol player, who had to find a common ground and a compromise temperament that would work for both. I am convinced that this explains why it was specifically in France, where the viol enjoyed extreme popularity in the second half of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, and where this partnership was so close, that a viol-friendly, meantone-derived Baroque temperament came into common use for the harpsichord—so common that it was called the *temperament ordinaire*.

In my experience, meantone and its French-derived form *ordinaire* are very compatible and easy fretting and tuning schemes for the viol player—as well as being very rewarding musically. The fret dispositions are similar, being slightly less extreme (closer to equal temperament) in *ordinaire* than in meantone.

The use of unequal circular Baroque temperaments for the performance of Baroque music provides us with a genuine Baroque musical tool, functioning as a powerful enhancer of expression: consonances are more restful, dissonances sharper, and as a result there is a more acute contrast between tension and resolution. Unlike equal temperament, Baroque temperaments endow each key with a different character, setting the music immediately in a particular dimension—a feature consciously explored by composers,²⁷ as we have seen above. From the acoustical point of view, the better quality of the thirds contributes to improving considerably the viol's general resonance, amplifying its sound, giving it a wider palette of colors, and making its chords brighter and warmer.²⁸

²⁷The expression *wohltemperirt* (well-tempered) has led to disputable assumptions concerning a possible use of equal temperament by Bach. Nowadays some authors understand that his famous work *Das wohltemperirte Clavier* was composed with a circular unequal temperament in mind, aimed at illustrating the different character of the keys (Klop, *Harpsichord Tuning*, 18).

²⁸Nothing is more convincing in this respect than one's own ears. Therefore, to the reader who has never left the safe limits of equal temperament I strongly suggest the following experiment: with the help of an electronic tuner, tune the open strings and frets of two viols of very different quality to equal temperament (the better instrument) and to some shade of meantone

The easiest way to achieve the *ordinaire* is, of course, by tuning open strings and frets to a harpsichord previously tuned this way. The fifths are tuned wide or narrow by a fraction of a Pythagorean comma, as follows:²⁹

C to G	-5/24	E to B	-5/24	G# to Eb	+1/8
G to D	-5/24	B to F#	-5/48	Eb to Bb	+1/6
D to A	-5/24	F# to C#	-5/48	Bb to F	+1/6
A to E	-5/24	C# to G#	0	F to C	-5/24

Keep in mind that “the daunting fractions like 5/24 and 5/48 are not so daunting if related to 1/6 (4/24) and 1/12 (4/48).”³⁰

One can also tune with the help of a machine (such as a Korg tuner), producing the appropriate deviations from equal temperament (in cents, rounded off here):³¹

C	+9	Eb	0	F#	-6	A	0
C#	-7	E	-3	G	+6	Bb	+6
D	+3	F	+12	G#	-5	B	-6

One usually tunes the frets in reference to the pitches on the second string. The E-flats at fret 1 may be slightly “better” on the viol than on the harpsichord, and the F on the E string slightly “worse.” But the *temperament ordinaire* is basically a starting point, and does not need to be followed strictly: variants can be, and are, used to accommodate the demands of the different keys.

(the not-so-good). Then play some Hume and some sixteenth-century music on both of them, and hear what happens to the sound of the instruments and to the music.

²⁹This is according to Richard Clayson and Andrew Garret, *Clayson & Garret Tuning Compass* (Lyninge: Kent Paper Company, 1980), a useful tool for setting a dozen temperaments on the harpsichord. For other unequal temperaments on the viol see the section “General rules for unequal temperaments” in Liddle, “Tuning,” 162–63. Her whole appendix on tuning (pp. 155–64) is worth reading for its clarity.

³⁰Clayson and Garret, *Tuning Compass*, 8.

³¹I am indebted to a reader from the Editorial Board for having made the calculations to provide this set of figures.

On the viol, this is done by “playing” with the location of frets 1 and 6 (according to whether they should yield flats or sharps—having in mind that sharps are lower in pitch than flats) and, if necessary, with the location of fret 4 (closer to the bridge, for keys with three flats) and fret 3 (closer to the nut, for four sharps). When the first fret is required for both sharps and flats, there are several possibilities: splitting the fret, using one thread for sharps and the other for flats; using fret 6 on the next string down as an alternative (only possible if fret 1 is set for flats and fret 6 for sharps, or vice versa); “faking,” that is, playing away from the fret (toward the nut) with less finger pressure to lower the pitch, or playing just beyond the fret (toward the bridge) with a lot of finger pressure to raise the pitch (some amount of “faking” is normally required for pitches not covered by the system, such as the D \sharp on the C string). Last but not least, thick gut frets are essential not only for the production of a richer tone (while ensuring a longer life to one’s strings), but also to facilitate little adaptations in tuning such as slanting the fret, in order to please the ultimate judge—the ear.

Not much fret “playing” is required for the viol recitatives and arias in the Passions. *St. John* needs fret 1 to be in its sharps position (that is, closer to the nut) because of the frequent leading tones A \sharp and E \sharp . Its position can be found by obtaining a pure fifth between the C \sharp on string IV and the G \sharp at the fourth fret on string III. *St. Matthew* is well served by using the *ordinaire* fretting scheme. “Faking” the few sharps occurring on frets 1 and 6 is not a problem throughout the four viol pieces, and in “Mein Jesus schweigt” the very high C-sharps contribute to an especially sour tone, enhancing the deliberate dissonance already written in. A similar effect occurs in measure 22 of “Komm, süßes Kreuz,” when the very high g \sharp is particularly poignant.

This immediately raises the question of what to do when playing in partnership with an organ tuned in equal temperament (in case of a performance with a modern orchestra). With the viol in *temperament ordinaire*, the result is similar to that obtained when a cellist plays with an organ. Good string players do not really play in equal temperament. The difference in intonation is negligible and bearable in the continuo part; it is not felt in the

obbligato aria parts, when the viol is independent and has so much to gain by the use of such a temperament.

In this case, after receiving the A, one needs to tune the strings to one’s own system. This is done by tuning the open strings to the frets through unisons and octaves, and by checking the main fifths (D–A, G–d, C–g, e–b, a–e’), which should all sound comparable since they are all narrowed by the same deviation from equal temperament (see first tuning chart above). Once the viol is tuned, it is useful to choose some checkpoints in the context of the pieces in question. For *St. John*, the fifths b(II)–f \sharp (I) and f \sharp (III)–c \sharp (II), similar in size to the ones in equal temperament (slightly smaller than pure), are good checkpoints. For *St. Matthew*, alternate a D minor chord with the (thirdless) chord A(V)–e(IV)–e(III)–a(II); both chords have their fifths narrowed by approximately 1/6 of a Pythagorean comma, as noted above.

Among the many factors involved in obtaining good intonation, stability of the instrument is a major one. So once the orchestra has stepped out for the intermission, it is useful to bring the viol onstage so that it can settle into the prevailing combination of temperature and humidity. Preliminary tuning should be done, taking the A from the organ, and checked and corrected from time to time during intermission. In both Passions, the gamba is usually given one opportunity to check the tuning, sometime before the major aria: in *St. John* after chorale 54(26), and in *St. Matthew* after aria 61(52). This is when the ability to retune quickly is very valuable.

Nevertheless it is possible to “monitor” the tuning during the performance by playing in the chorales.³² Choirs of course do not sing in equal temperament; they use good thirds, which makes it easier to check your tuning with theirs. The C string can be double-checked through the F \sharp , which should match the one on the E string. The old trick of letting the peg touch one’s ear while playing, in order to amplify the sound one hears, is quite useful here. Trust your hearing: strings can quickly become extremely

³²When doing so, it is possible to “travel” throughout the voices, choosing the ones that, at any given moment, present the greatest number of open strings (as cleverly suggested by English gambist Jane Ryan).

out of tune! Under "normal" stage conditions (with the use of air conditioning, and a humidity variation of around nine percent), I have found that pure gut strings hold the tuning quite well, while wound ones need constant correction. When conditions deteriorate (intermittent use of air conditioning, humidity variation of around eighteen percent), one has to retune the whole instrument, since even plain gut strings are affected when really big changes occur.

Staying in tune is a major concern, but it should by no means absorb one entirely: it is essential to put oneself into the music and the story as a preparation for one's entrance. This happens naturally for Christian believers, who experience deeply the religious and musical facets of the Passions. The other side of the coin is that this outstanding music is also at the service of some very anti-Semitic texts, and often the colors of Baroque expression are used effectively to portray Jews as evil; this can make it quite uncomfortable for a Jewish gambist. It is a challenge to detach oneself from the painful feelings aroused by the text and yet plunge into the story—treating it as if it were, say, Greek mythology, like an actor who needs to infuse his speech with dramatic content but seeks only dramatic truth, not real truth.

Performing with a Modern Orchestra

A specific set of problems arises when performing with a modern orchestra, still commonplace in most countries where the Passions are heard. The first question concerns the setup of the instrument: a Baroque viol set for use at low pitch (a=415 or lower) may become instantly stiff, squeaky and shrill when tuned to 442. If this happens with no improvement during the course of several days, it should be remedied either by exchanging the bridge for a lower one (which reduces the string pressure over the belly, thus allowing the instrument to play at a higher pitch while functioning still at moderate tension) or by changing the top strings for thinner ones (a compromise measure, producing a higher pitch and an overall louder sound at a moderately higher tension). A rise in the general pitch of the instrument, however achieved, will usually necessitate repositioning the frets for the sake of intonation, which is affected by changes in the strings' tension and distance from the fingerboard.

A second problem is adjusting to the difference in power and sound quality between the gamba and the sound context in which it appears. It may be difficult to get used to one's own sound, especially at the first entrance. One can cope mentally with this by concentrating on creating an imaginary environment for oneself, allowing oneself to play at ease as if one were in a very compatible setting. It is crucial to resist any temptation to try to match the orchestra; one must disconnect one's mind from its presence and from the idiosyncrasies of the hall.

The contrast in volume and sound quality between the viol and the rest of the orchestra can be (and generally is) viewed by the audience in two opposite ways. The first one, very positive, is that if, in the normal version with period instruments, the gamba with its particular sound transports us to another world, in the version with modern orchestra the effect is double: the gamba takes us also to the world of old instruments.

The other view is that, inserted into the modern orchestra and confronted with its tremendous power, the viol sounds like a lesser instrument. It is doomed to failure from the very start, because modern and old instruments cannot really co-exist musically with success—a musical expression of the Jewish concept of "Sh'atnez," categories that do not blend or do not fit together. In addition, modern orchestras usually perform in large halls, and "how can one decide to present the viol's merit and have her appreciated, when one is given as battlefield the vast hollowness of a huge hall, which it is impossible for her to have enough lung power to fill! . . . The sound of the viol, heard from far away or in a large space, packed with people and their clothes, resembles the vapor of spirit of wine which one throws into the air and from which nothing comes down. . . . Beware of endangering your ancient glory by exercising your talents in a large site."³³ In

³³ . . . quel moyen de se résoudre à produire le mérite de la Viole & de la faire sentir, lorsqu'on affecte de donner pour Champ de bataille la vaste concavité d'une Salle énorme en grandeur, où il est impossible qu'elle eût la force de poumon de fournir! . . . Le Son de la Viole entendu de loin, ou dans un grand espace, rempli de personnes avec leurs habits, ressemble à la vapeur de l'esprit de Vin qu'on jette en l'air, dont il ne retombe rien. . . . Gardez-

this case, we might be playing against ourselves—because no message will come across, no matter whatever efforts we make, since the viol, removed from its natural environment, will be heard at great disadvantage and will be exposed to “quality” judgments *a priori* negative.

Nevertheless, if you decide to take the risk, keep in mind that in spite of the problems described above, the presence of the viol, with its unique sound, expressive intonation, and elegant articulation, has something to offer the audience that is worth striving for. It is not an easy task, and you may not reach every listener, but the ones who are touched may reward you with their appreciation.

Concluding Remarks

This article has discussed or touched on several issues related to the performance of the viol pieces in Bach’s Passions. I would like to stress that there are many additional aspects worth addressing on this subject, and many more ideas to be added to the ones I bring up here.³⁴ I hope that my notes may be of help, both practical and conceptual, opening paths of thought and discussion and above all inspiring other gambists to share their thoughts and experiences regarding this cornerstone of our repertoire.

vous bien . . . de commettre votre ancienne gloire à exercer vos talents dans un grand endroit. . .” (LeBlanc, *Défense de la Basse de Viole*, 57–58, 86, 61).

³⁴I am grateful to my colleagues in The Jerusalem Consort, soprano Miriam Meltzer for suggesting that I transform my performance notes into an article, and harpsichordist David Shemer for helping me in the research of viol-friendly historical temperaments.

GENDER, CLASS, AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH MUSIC: BARTHÉLEMY DE CAIX’S *SIX SONATAS FOR TWO UNACCOMPANIED PARDESSUS DE VIOLE*

Part I

Tina Chancey

The purpose of this article is twofold: to introduce a member of the viol family from eighteenth-century France, the pardessus de viole, and to spotlight a particularly impressive work written for that instrument, the *Six Sonatas for Two Unaccompanied Five-Stringed Pardessus de Viole*, by the equally unknown composer Barthélemy de Caix.¹ What makes these sonatas different from the more than two hundred unaccompanied treble-instrument duets published in Paris between 1740 and 1760? Stated simply, the de Caix sonatas are different because they are extremely well written, and are designated for an instrument that has not only a remarkable sound but a history rich in social context relating to matters of gender and class.²

Therefore, to demonstrate the significance of the de Caix duets in their period, this study will take an eclectic approach. Part I will examine the genealogy of the five-stringed pardessus and its use in society, where the instrument was played predominately by women as a violin substitute; Part II will discuss potential influences on de Caix’s musical background and analyze compositional style.

¹The article is adapted from my Ph.D. thesis.

²That the instrument, the work in question, and the composer are virtually unknown today all conspire to lend the story an attractive touch of drama. I look forward to a remake of *Tous les Matins du Monde* featuring Gérard Dépardieu as de Caix and myself playing the soundtrack!

Barthélemy de Caix's *Six Sonatas* would be impressive were they written by a Couperin, Rameau, or Leclair. The music's quality plus the virtual anonymity of its creator acts as a dual challenge to any self-respecting researcher to find out the circumstances of its composition, in order to trumpet its praises to the curious public. Unfortunately, these hidden corners of history seldom yield exactly the answers we want without raising twice as many new questions. In this article I have tried to balance information with speculation, in the hope that the final effect is more stimulating than frustrating.

Background

Present-day scholarship concerning the pardessus de viole can be summarized in a few paragraphs.³ Beginning in the 1960s with Cécile Dolmetsch, continuing in the 1970s with Mary Cyr and Adrian Rose, and then through the 1980s and up to the present time with Robert Green, Julie Ann Sadie, Hazelle Miloradovitch, and Christiane Dubuquoy-Portois, researchers have uncovered the repertoire for the pardessus de viole as well as placing the instrument in historical and organological context in relation to the treble viol and violin. Work has been done to isolate and flesh out our knowledge of the players of the instrument using iconographic and archival sources such as newspaper accounts, biographical dictionary entries, notarial records, memoirs, and court records. Some analytical work has been done on selected compositions from a formal and harmonic point of view. Treatises have been translated and inconsistencies aired. Although questions still

³For a coherent overview of the field, see Robert Green's pioneering articles, "The Pardessus de Viole and its Literature," *Early Music* 10 (July 1982), 300–7; "The Treble Viol in Seventeenth-Century France and the Origins of the Pardessus de Viole," this *Journal* 22 (1985), 64–71; and, "Recent Research and Conclusions Concerning the 'Pardessus de Viole' in Eighteenth-Century France," this *Journal* 31 (1994), 1–12. Another excellent article is Christiane Dubuquoy-Portois's "Le pardessus de viole au XVIIIe siècle: Un nouvel instrument de divertissement," in *Instrumentistes et luthiers parisiens, XVIIe–XIXe Siècles*, ed. Florence Getreau (Paris: Délégation à l'Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1988), 135–48.

remain to be answered, the field has been well and carefully excavated using the tools of historical musicology.

My own research was primarily done in France. I made three-week trips in September, 1994 and September, 1996, visiting picture and document archives in Paris, Versailles, and Lyon. I also read the available literature on the pardessus in eighteenth-century France, and on related string and pastoral instruments. Over the past two years I have interviewed historians, luthiers, and specialists in eighteenth-century French music in general and the pardessus in particular.

I came to the pardessus as an active performer, a budding feminist, and a fledgling musicologist. While I read the same original sources and looked at the same musical prints as my colleagues, my background made me respond differently. My identity as a performer led me to evaluate the repertoire in terms of my judgment of its musical quality, which is why I chose to concentrate upon the de Caix sonatas. My immersion in the cross-disciplinary approach and gender studies of the new musicology led me to ask different questions of the same material and to look to other fields in order to interpret my answers.⁴ However, I could not have begun to make these new connections without the excellent work of my predecessors.

The pardessus de viole is an eighteenth-century member of the viola da gamba family, whose first members appeared in mid-fifteenth-century Italy. Created as a kind of bowed lute, the six-stringed, fretted viol inherited a strong tradition of chordal playing that, coupled with its expressive melodic voice, made it a favorite solo instrument among sophisticated amateur musicians in seventeenth-century France. Bass and treble (*dessus*) viols were the popular sizes in France, and used the standard tuning—fourths with a third in the middle, the treble ranging upward from

⁴I am reminded of a comment in Henry Kingsbury's *Music, Talent and Performance* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 29, in which he explains that the difference between himself as a social scientist and his "informants," who would otherwise be known as his colleagues, is one of purpose.

the D below middle C (d-g-c'-e'-a'-d'') and the bass an octave lower.

In the last third of the seventeenth century the ranges of both treble and bass were modified. Around 1670 Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe extended the bass viol's range a fourth lower by adding a seventh string tuned to A below the low D. This gave the bass more sonority, as well as a lower range than the violoncello by two notes. Around 1690 Marin Marais, in partnership with the luthier Colichon, extended the treble's range a fourth higher by removing its lowest string and adding a high G string above its top D string, thus creating an instrument tuned g-c'-e'-a'-d''-g'' and named a six-stringed *pardessus*, meaning, literally, over or above the dessus. Pardessus players could now reach notes between high a'' and d''' without shifting, a convenience that made it much easier to play music written for other treble instruments such as the flute.

For the first thirty years of its existence the six-stringed pardessus functioned as a higher extension of the treble viol, warranting few literary or musical references. Later, in the 1730s, it was often mentioned as an alternate instrument on the title pages of treble duets written for such pastoral instruments as the musette (court bagpipe), vielle à roue (court hurdy-gurdy), and recorder.

Between 1725 and 1733 the Italian violinists Giovanni-Pietro Guignon and Giovanni Baptista Somis, students of Corelli, played at the Concert Spirituel of Philidor, taking Paris by storm. But while Italian violin music became all the rage with aristocratic amateurs, in France the violin was still an instrument for "people who made their livings by it"—professional musicians, playing for dances and public spectacles—and thus too déclassé for nobles. While it cannot be conclusively proven that this quandary stimulated the appearance of the five-stringed pardessus in the 1730s, the new instrument certainly provided the perfect solution. Fretted and held between the knees, this pardessus was tuned as a combination violin and viol in fifths and fourths: g-d'-a'-d''-g''. Its lowest three strings duplicated the pitches of the violin, which made it possible to play violin double stops and chords, but instead of a violin E string, the pardessus possessed both upper D

and G strings like its six-stringed relative, enabling players to reach high-high D without shifting.

In eighteenth-century France the five-stringed pardessus attracted a variety of partisans, most notably the aristocratic amateur women musicians of the French court, many of whom already played bass viola da gamba. Doubly prevented by their sex and their class from playing the violin, they appreciated the similarity of technique to the treble viol and the access to the new style of music without the trouble of learning to hold an instrument on the shoulder, in *braccio* position. Professional cellists from Parisian theater orchestras took up the pardessus as well; they were curious about Italian violin music but too busy to learn the playing technique. Other pardessus players included noblemen who found the violin difficult, young middle-class women who found the pardessus challenging, and talented children too small to hold the bass viol comfortably. Two of Louis XV's daughters, Sophie and Victoire, played pardessus.

From 1730 to 1760 the five-stringed pardessus was extremely popular. Created initially as a substitute instrument, its repertoire encompassed French and Italian solo violin music; trio sonatas written for violin, flute, recorder, or oboe; pastoral duos originally for vielle à roue or musette; arrangements of bass viol music; and finally, suites and sonatas of varying difficulty written for the pardessus, with a few exceptions, by less well known composers of varying ability. Accomplished pardessus players may even have performed Italian violin concerti. Concurrently, a hybrid of the violin and pardessus called the *quinton* came into use; it had the body shape of the violin but had five strings tuned pardessus-fashion and was played on the lap.

After 1760 the popularity of the pardessus began a slow decline. As etiquette relaxed, it became socially acceptable for aristocrats in general and women in particular to play the violin. While teachers of the pardessus advertised in the *Mercure Galant* as late as 1777, at the same time some instruments were being cannibalized to create hybrids such as the pardessus/hurdy-gurdy,

or pardessus/vielle.⁵ The five-stringed pardessus's most vital years were at an end. After the Revolution, an inventory of instruments confiscated from aristocratic homes disclosed that pardessus and bass viols were relatively numerous, but a monetary evaluation by Revolutionary officials demonstrated that, by that time, the pardessus was virtually worthless.⁶

In summary:

- ◆ The six-stringed pardessus was developed from the treble viol. It was succeeded by the five-stringed pardessus, which owed its invention to the stimulus of the lower-class but increasingly popular violin. About the same time, the quinton emerged, shaped like a violin but tuned like a five-stringed pardessus.
- ◆ The six-stringed pardessus was developed to answer a musical/technical need, a "range" problem. In contrast, the five-stringed instrument was created in response to a social need: a repertoire in search of a socially acceptable instrument.
- ◆ Common repertoire for the five-stringed pardessus included not only music written for it, but a wide variety of solo and ensemble music for other melody instruments.
- ◆ An emblem of the aristocrats, the pardessus had gone out of fashion by the time of the Revolution, supplanted by the violin.

The Evolution of the Pardessus

The first question to be raised in response to the above summary concerns the exact relationship between the six-stringed and five-stringed pardessus. The five-stringed instrument was developed more than thirty years after the six-stringed pardessus. Was it a sister, daughter, or cousin? And what were the two pardessus' connection to the treble viol and the violin? Some sort

⁵*Almanach Musicales* 5 (1779), 31–33 (929–31) and 6 (1781), 61–62 (1213–14).

⁶A. Bruni, *Un Inventaire sous le Terreur* (Paris: Chamerot, 1890).

of logical construction would be useful to expand upon our initial impression that the six-stringed instrument was part of a continuum, but the five-stringed pardessus was the result of a disruption in that continuum.

Surprisingly, it is nineteenth-century Darwinism and its early-twentieth-century modifications that hold the keys to this puzzle. Darwinism, with its characterization of evolution as a slow, incremental process that gradually modified a species, was later expanded into Neo-Darwinism through the acknowledgment of the additional role of a more sudden, radical change that created a new species. Both processes are considered to exist simultaneously and to complement each other.⁷

Applying variants of Darwinism to the history of manmade things, or artifacts, results in the development of a number of oppositional constructs. Two of them are useful in this case: modification versus creation, and invention versus innovation. According to the first tenet, the six-stringed pardessus was a modification of the treble, while the five-stringed instrument was a newly created instrument. According to the second one, the six-stringed pardessus was an invention, while the five stringed-pardessus was an innovation.

As applied to musical instruments by Laurence Libin, the theory states that an instrument is *modified* when most of its features remain recognizably the same.⁸ Thus, with the recorder: the Hotteterres narrowed its bore and added furniture turnings to its exterior to compensate for the resulting tuning problems, but its basic means of sound production and number of holes remained constant. Once an instrument is modified, its name either remains the same or receives a modifier, such as the Boehm flute. Clearly the shape of the six-stringed pardessus did not diverge much from the treble; although the pardessus's body became shorter, its characteristic boxy silhouette remained the same as the

⁷Niles Eldredge, *The Monkey Business* (New York: Washington Square, 1982).

⁸Laurence Libin, "Progress, Adaptation and the History of Musical Instruments," (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, unpublished, 1995), 3.

treble's. The six-stringed pardessus also maintained the treble's standard tuning of four fourths and a C-E third, even though that third moved down a string when the high G string was added and low D subtracted. Finally, the name "pardessus" was a modification of the original French word for treble, "dessus," through the addition of a prefix.

In contrast, an instrument is described as *newly created* when a preponderance of its features are different from pre-existing instruments: for example, a new mechanism that distinguishes the pianoforte from the harpsichord, or a combination of a new shape, size, and tuning that differentiates the violin from its closest ancestor, the lira da braccio. New instruments usually receive a new name as well. While the standard six-stringed pardessus looked more like a treble viol, the authentic five-stringed pardessus had not only a more shallow body and one less string, but a totally different tuning merging fifths and fourths. Its lack of a new name may be understood if we view it as a virtual twin of the quinton in tuning, size, fretting, manner of playing—in everything but exact body shape. Indeed, in Michel Corrette's pardessus treatise the terms quinton and pardessus were used interchangeably.⁹

Applying the second construct gives us additional perspective on the relationship between five- and six-stringed pardessus. This is a distinction between *invention*, which can be solitary and unsuccessful but takes the necessary first step, and *innovation*, during which the original invention is adapted successfully, often in cooperation with those who use it.¹⁰ Although we don't know exactly how the five-stringed pardessus came into being, it is conceivable that the six-stringed instrument was an invention, a mildly unsuccessful prototype, unsuccessful through no fault of

⁹Michel Corrette, *Méthode pour Apprendre Facilement à Jouer au Pardessus de Viole à 5 et à 6 Cordes avec des Leçons* (Paris, 1748).

¹⁰Henry Petroski, *The Evolution of Useful Things* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993). These two terms may be interpreted both oppositionally, as two different processes, and also sequentially, since the former may lead to the latter.

its own.¹¹ With the five-stringed pardessus we see an innovation, an instrument that encouraged the creation of a new repertoire in line with its capabilities.

The five-stringed model does have new capabilities, different in some manner from each of its relatives: the treble, the six-stringed pardessus, and the violin. The three viols have in common the viol's flat back, which reflects sound like a mirror and produces a sweet, resonant tone, whereas the violin's rounded back focuses sound like a lens and projects a fuller, more complicated tone. They also have frets, which give every pitch the clarity of the open string. However, unlike the other two viols, the five-stringed pardessus's lack of a sixth string and its octave Gs and Ds permit it to vibrate more freely. Unlike the violin, on the other hand, the extra top string makes high notes easier to play and, by providing a longer string length, gives them a potentially better sound.

That this new instrument went out of fashion so soon after its creation had more to do with social and political conditions than with its musical limitations. To quote Mr. Libin, "Out of the great diversity of all instruments ever invented, many types fail to engender significant music. Even some that do so [we could insert the five-string pardessus here] . . . fall out of use if their specialization [in this case also their elitism and gender stereotyping] inhibits wider adoption and adaptation."¹²

This concept of the five-stringed pardessus as an instrument with a distinctive character helps us understand why it became so popular in mid-century, and why de Caix made it his virtuoso instrument of choice.

¹¹It is not clear whether the five-stringed pardessus supplanted the six-stringed one. In conversation, Thomas MacCracken says that a considerable number of the six-stringed pardessus for which he has records are dated after 1730, with only a few definitely before that date. He says that it is true, however, that six-stringed pardessus started to die out in the 1750s, fully a decade before production of five-stringed pardessus fell off—rather sharply—in the middle 1760s.

¹²Libin, "Progress," 24.

Questions of Gender and Class

A further question is inspired by our brief history of the pardessus: "Why did aristocratic women play pardessus, and did bourgeois women share the same reasons?" This question could be reframed, "Why didn't aristocratic and bourgeois French women play the violin, as women did in much of the rest of Europe by the 1750s?" References to "custom," "etiquette," or "gender" do not tell the whole story.

Aristocratic women played pardessus for reasons both of gender and of class. The pardessus was not the only mid-eighteenth-century French instrument to be gendered—that is, identified primarily with a certain sex because of its function or manner of playing. According to courtly etiquette, the harpsichord, viola da gamba, hurdy-gurdy, and harp were a woman's domain just as the violin and woodwind and brass instruments were men's. These gendered assignments could reflect the situation in which the instruments were originally used; for example, trumpet and drums were designated masculine because they were employed in war. Assignments could also correspond to the instrument's position in the ensemble; women, who usually took a supportive role, accompanied on the keyboard, lute, or viol, while men played the melody on a flute, oboe, or recorder.¹³

Some of these distinctions between male and female instruments may seem arbitrary to us today. Indeed, if we had to make gender judgments now we might think it more unseemly for a woman to hold a viol between her legs than a violin on her shoulder.¹⁴ However, Robert Green points out that one reason that the violin, oboe, flute, and trumpet were gendered male was that

¹³In conversation, Suzanne Cusick points out that these assignments were consistent with the acknowledgment that while men had *power*, women had *influence*. Certainly the players of the lute, harpsichord, or viol were responsible for the manifestation of the harmonic foundation of the piece, and as such were in control of more musical and rhythmic elements than the soloist.

¹⁴Indeed, one of the few protesters against convention, Monsieur Ancelet, says as much in his *Observations sur la musique, les musiciens et les instruments* (Amsterdam, 1757; reprint, Geneva: Editions Minkoff, 1984), 24.

"they required distortions of the body which were not visually pleasing. One could not play them with a pleasant smile."¹⁵ By the 1740s reaction against these kind of constraints was so strong that one contemporary source joked that a woman shouldn't play the flute because someone might have rubbed an aphrodisiac on the mouthpiece.¹⁶

In spite of the ridicule that it engendered, the prohibition against public performance by aristocratic women violinists persisted until the last third of the century, with few exceptions. Of the many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century illustrations of French women playing musical instruments, I could find only two that show respectable women with violins. One is a portrait of Louis XV's daughter, Madame Adelaide, standing next to a violin on a table.¹⁷ The other is an etching featuring the daughters of court musician Monsieur Royer in a violin and harpsichord duet.¹⁸ Adelaide, as the King's daughter, could have been above etiquette, and the daughters of Royer, like musicians' daughters throughout Europe with a predilection for the family business, may have been exempt because of their illustrious father.¹⁹

¹⁵Green, "Recent Research," 2.

¹⁶François Campion, *Lettre de Monsieur l'Abbé Carbasus, à Monsieur de *** auteur du Temple de Goust sur la mode des instruments de musique* (Paris, 1739).

¹⁷In A. P. Mirimonde, *L'Iconographie Musicale sous Les Rois Bourbons, II: Musiciens isolés et Portraits de l'Ecole Français* (Paris: Picard, 1966). According to George Gooch, in *Louis XV: The Monarchy in Decline* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956), 132, Adelaide had a forceful character; she was temperamental, brusque, and full of energy and ambition. From this description she might have been expected to flaunt custom—but perhaps not completely: she is painted *with* the violin, but not *playing* the violin.

¹⁸Louis Carrogis dit Carmontelle, "Les trois filles de compositeur Royer, 1760," in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

¹⁹There were certainly other well-known French women violinists from the mid-eighteenth century, such as Elisabeth de Haulteterre who played Leclair's sonatas at the Concert Spirituel in 1737. For further details about women musicians in eighteenth-century France see Julie Sadie, "Musiciennes of the Ancien Régime," in *Women Making Music*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 207.

Perhaps ridicule could make no headway against custom until the nature of courtly etiquette changed in France, in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. When we talk of *etiquette*—set rules of behavior—in early modern France, we are not referring to a single form of intense social stratification continuing unchanged from medieval times to the revolution. While the intensity of its influence may have been maintained, its form changed with the personality of the monarch, as well as the social conditions and political situation of the times. The particularly strict etiquette at the courts of Louis XIV and XV, where every public action was ritualized and choreographed, was grounded upon the deification of the person of the king, giving the monarch not only temporal political power but absolute, ultimate authority as well. Only this kind of supremacy could convince the French nobles to go into virtual exile at Versailles. However, we should be aware that the duration of this situation was relatively short. Louis XIII was castigated for acting like a common man; he had neither the interest nor the ability to create such a cult of personality. Louis XVI also hated ceremony and liked nothing better than to work with his hands. Indeed, before the end of Louis XV's reign, belief in his divinity began to falter, and many courtiers left Versailles for Paris as the king withdrew into his chambers.²⁰

In order to clarify the nature of the control that Louis XIV and Louis XV maintained over the French nobles through etiquette, it would be useful to compare *etiquette* to *protocol*. Interestingly, while Louis XIV's court was concerned with etiquette, it was relatively indifferent to protocol, in contrast to the Spanish and Italian courts.²¹ Both terms describe a bi-level process: the development of formal and ceremonial signs and gestures that create a texture of position and power, and the larger-scale creation of a hierarchy of behavior to clarify the fine layers of

power between *ourselves* and the *other*. The difference between the two could be described as one of scope: etiquette most often works within a social group or a single society, protocol between one society or culture and another. During Louis XIV's reign and the beginning of Louis XV's, then, since etiquette was more important than protocol, we could conclude that the French aristocrats were more concerned with distinctions of position among themselves than between themselves and outsiders.

This conclusion is consistent with the insularity reinforced by the process of absolutism, which controls, not by threats of danger or physical constraints, but by emotional manipulation. All relationships in such a society are ephemeral; the person holding the power can remove his favor at any moment. Those without power face a daunting task and might seem almost in thrall—constant attention is necessary to remain in the good graces of the powerful one, and the fleeting satisfaction of favor achieved may act as a drug to the personal qualities of independence and integrity.²² But the demands on the participants are reciprocal; the powerful one must exercise his will regularly for the magnetism to remain in force. If either the attractor or the attractee loses interest, the circuit is broken and all drift away.²³

While Louis XIV and Louis XV were at the height of their power, it was unthinkable for an aristocratic woman involved in the strict ritual of etiquette at court, or a bourgeois woman hoping to become involved therein, to go against convention. This was not a matter of choice. Convention was an important building block of etiquette, and therefore of the structure of society. For a woman, playing the violin would never even have been considered. Therefore, the question was seldom asked by eighteenth-century social philosophers about *why* such a situation continued to exist for almost a century. It is only outside that society that we have the perspective to answer it today.

²⁰One of the reasons for the diminishing of the king's power was his choice of Mme. DuBarry, a common whore, as his mistress. See Robert Darnton, *Forbidden Best Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York: Norton, 1995).

²¹Alice Jarrard, "The Architecture of Display: Women in Louis XIV's Theater Halls," unpublished paper.

²²The ritual nature of the relationship is depersonalizing; the individual's character is virtually irrelevant except as it gives him/her the determination (or the unscrupulousness) necessary to succeed.

²³Gooch, *Louis XV*, 5–8, 32.

Besides other reasons of gender and class, aristocratic French women were not allowed to play the violin because of their society's views on the concepts *amateur* and *professional*. According to the many books on manners written by authors such as Castiglione, the aristocrat's purpose in life was to set an example to the lower classes of a life lived with grace, style, and balance.²⁴ This required the ability to dance, converse with wit and urbanity, perform with ease upon a musical instrument, and, like a jewel, to ornament the setting in which one was placed. Learning a difficult instrument like the violin took time and energy, interfering with that purpose. What was true for men was even more true for aristocratic women: they were the supreme ornaments whose task in life was to be *reactive*, to deflect and absorb discord, to function as a muse or a balm. Most important of all, they were to do all this without calling attention to themselves. So, while aristocrats were expected to be talented amateur musicians, the role of the professional was not suitable, because of the effort it took as well as the recognition it might bring.

The constraint against aristocrats being professionals had an added dimension in that the concept of public and private space was changing by mid-century. Public and private have always been differentiated by such dichotomies as dangerous and safe, exposed and protected, formal and informal. One aspect of privacy was a physical one, even when the space designated private was no bigger than a bed with curtains in a busy room, giving visual but not aural privacy.

But another aspect of public and private had more to do with the eighteenth-century view of etiquette. Within the society created by Louis XIV, a venue was considered public if there was any power to be lost or gained there. Thus, there were degrees of publicness; the more power in the balance, the more public a space was. According to this definition, the *most* public space was wherever the king was, no matter who accompanied him. In his absence, public space was monitored by those who had the most to win, or to lose. In this scheme, people not involved in the

²⁴Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (Venice, 1528), trans. and ed. George Bull (London: Penguin Books, 1976).

power game, such as members of the bourgeoisie—that is, the professional class, or intelligentsia—were invisible unless they established themselves as players.²⁵

This process of self-establishment was often effected through the substrata of semipublic venues such as the salon. While salons were formed for a number of reasons, they acted partly as aids to those outside the nobility in their transition from invisibility to visibility.²⁶ Salons provided contact with those who had access to power—the nobles. Everyone involved benefited from the exchange: the women organizing the salons gained influence while remaining behind the scenes, the nobles gained prestige when they introduced new talent to court, and the new talent had a chance to win patronage, money, and a possible change in rank.

Another venue that supported social change was the semi-public concert series. The first and longest-running was Pierre Philidor's Concert Spirituel. In effect a musical salon where professional musicians, aristocrats, intellectuals, and men of affairs met as equals on the common ground of arts and letters, the Concert Spirituel took place on holy days when the opera and theaters were closed and professional musicians were at liberty. Founded in 1725, its pool of performers included local professionals and amateurs, visiting foreign virtuosi, and young talents from the French provinces. For these young performers the Concert Spirituel functioned as the Young Concert Artists competition does today, giving performance opportunities to gifted musicians just starting out.²⁷

²⁵For more discussion see Linda Imray and Audrey Middleton, "Public and Private: Marking Boundaries," in *The Public and the Private*, ed. Eva Gamarnikow (London: Heinemann, 1983).

²⁶Carolyn Lougee, *Le Paradis des Femmes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

²⁷For example, Antoine Jules Carlez, *Notices sur quelques musiciens Rouennais* (Caen, 1885), 35, says that Pierre-David Chapelle, born bourgeois, had his early training in music in Rouen, then left for Paris to perfect his instruction, "et lorsqu'il eut obtenu de faveur, très enviée en ce temps-là, de se faire entendre au Concert Spirituel" (and while [he was there] he received the favor, much envied at that time, of making himself heard at the Concert Spirituel).

Because the arts were so prized by the French nobility, outstanding musical ability was one of the few respectable ways a middle-class young woman could attract enough positive attention to break the glass ceiling into the second estate and remain there permanently, if she were lucky, through marriage.²⁸ Being a talented musician was certainly a more socially acceptable means of establishing oneself than going on the stage or becoming someone's mistress. In contrast, middle-class men who excelled in the arts could receive patronage and employment but had little hope of changing their social status through musical talent alone.

It is interesting that at least some accomplished young women chose the five-stringed pardessus as their virtuoso instrument instead of the keyboard, harp, or hurdy-gurdy. More sang or danced. But the reuniting of the French and Italian tastes was the most absorbing and dramatic musical issue of the early eighteenth century and the violin students of Corelli and his protégé Somis were the most prestigious instrumentalists in Paris and at court, and the closest access a woman could gain to both the musical repertoire and the instrument was by playing the five-stringed pardessus de viole. Most players, particularly most aristocratic amateurs, didn't venture beyond simple Corelli trio sonatas. But others, ambitious and technically secure, reached out to the hardest works of the violin literature.

Mademoiselle Levi

One such performer was Mlle. Levi, whose first name is unknown. Born in either Rouen or Rennes, she was a virtuoso on the five-stringed pardessus who appeared eleven times at the Concert Spirituel within a six-month period during 1745.²⁹ We also know that her sister, Mme. Haubaut, another pardessus player, appeared on the same series five times in 1750.³⁰ After 1750 we find only two mentions of Mlle. Levi in print. The

²⁸Though if she had a large dowry, many impoverished nobles would have been happy to marry her whether she were talented or not.

²⁹Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel, 1725-1790* (Paris: Heugel, 1975), 250. See also *Mercure de France*, February and March, 1745.

³⁰Pierre, *Histoire*, 257.

former is by Monsieur Ancelet in 1757, who noted that "she is a talented teacher and makes . . . her instrument equal to the violin through the beauty of her playing."³¹ The latter is an advertisement in the *Almanach Musical* in 1770, saying that the pardessus teacher Monsieur Doublet was "the only pupil of the celebrated Madame [*sic*] Levi."³² That her name continued to have clout thirty years after her Concert Spirituel triumph, in spite of its absence from newspaper reviews and concert programs, points to a continuous, active career as a teacher, and as a performer in prestigious private and semipublic venues such as court and the salons. Mlle. Levi was said to have composed a book of sonatas for pardessus de viole, but the publication is lost.³³ In all, we know very little about her life, before or after her fifteen minutes of fame.

Further research might commence with the following two archival discoveries. First, the Municipal Archives of Paris have a death certificate of one Marie-Anne Levi-Darnaud (d. December 25, 1778), wife of Monsieur Darnaud, the Conseiller de Légation Roi de Poland in 1753.³⁴ Perhaps Mlle. Levi did marry well, and was prevented from performing regularly because she lived out of the country? Perhaps she refrained from performing or teaching while married, and only returned to public life after her husband's death, presumably before 1778? The question of whether she would have still been known as Mlle. Levi professionally after she had been married cannot be answered without further research; according to eighteenth-century-music specialist Bruce Gustafson, the practice at that time was "variable but not haphazard."³⁵

³¹Ancelet, *Observations*, 24.

³²*Almanach Musical* 1 (1770), 117.

³³François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1863), 293.

³⁴Archives de Paris, Décès, 5 MI 2, R 560.

³⁵Responding by letter to a query, Dr. Gustafson acknowledges that some women musicians were known by their married names in public and in their printed works but were referred to by their birth names on legal documents. However, these women were also members of the rich bourgeoisie and not

Second, we have information about a Monsieur Houbaut who was a violinist and music store owner near the old Comédie Italien.³⁶ Perhaps his wife was Mlle. Levi's sister, in spite of the minor discrepancy in the spelling of their names.

A third, more tenuous possibility is that Mlle. Levi was Jewish and returned to her own milieu after her success in Paris. While this theory cannot be totally disproved, it seems unlikely for a few reasons. Usually, when a public personage in eighteenth-century France was Jewish, that fact was mentioned prominently in the person's dictionary entries and newspaper reviews—as with Samuel Levi, whose dictionary entry preceded Mlle. Levi's in Fétis.³⁷ However, Mlle. Levi was never identified as Jewish in the eighteenth-century media. Also, until the revolution Jews were officially prohibited from living in France. They were informally tolerated but were required to use passports when traveling and to register with the police when they arrived in Paris. If they stayed beyond a prescribed period they had to update their registration periodically. In Paris they lived in a ghetto and were not allowed out after 8 P.M. According to available records, no family or single woman by the name of Levi registered between 1744 and 1753.³⁸

Finally, there were three groups of Jews in eighteenth-century Paris, whose members lived in different quarters of the city, not moving from generation to generation. Tradition was strong: sons generally went into their fathers' profession and most often intermarried within their own community. The first group was the Portuguese, also called the *Marranes*, descended from those leaving Spain and Portugal in 1492, who initially found refuge in Bayonne and Bordeaux, where they introduced chocolate to

professionals. The sole example of Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre, who used her married name once she was married, cannot decide the question.

³⁶Anne Chastel, "Etude sur la vie musicale à Paris à travers la presse pendant le règne de Louis XVI," *Recherches sur la Musique française classique* 16 (1976), 41. See also *Journal de Paris* (June 1770), 495.

³⁷Fétis, *Biographie universelle*, 293.

³⁸Leo Kahn, "Les juifs à Paris de 1755–1759," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 49 (1904), 121–39. Also see, Kahn, *Les juifs de Paris en XVIII siècle* (Paris, 1894).

France. They spoke Judéo-Espagnol (Ladino). Numbering about fifty families on the eve of the French Revolution, the male Marranes usually became professors, doctors, or tradesmen dealing in silks and jewels. Their names were distinctive: Mendès, Lopès, or Péreire. A second community of about one hundred Jews called *Contadins* or *Avignonnais* also came originally from Spain but spoke Provençal, and were gradually assimilated into non-Jewish society. Characteristic surnames of the Contadins were Ravel, Milhaud, and Astruc. A third group of about four hundred Jews came from Metz and Alsace and were installed in Paris, where they merged with Jews from Germany, the Low Countries, and Poland to form the *Askenazi*, which means "German" in Hebrew. Some were bankers, but more often they became peddlers, second-hand clothes vendors, and ironmongers. According to Myriam Amissimov, the name Levi or Levy meant "the master" in Hebrew and was characteristically used by the Askenazi, a community whose members seldom, if ever, mixed in aristocratic society.³⁹

Whatever her family background or her experiences in later life, Mlle. Levi's success at the Concert Spirituel cannot be doubted. But we would like to know more about how she maintained that success as she returned again and again.

What would Mlle. Levi have played in her nine appearances at the Concert Spirituel? We know only that she played an Italian concerto at least once.⁴⁰ Perhaps she played her own compositions. Even though concert announcements indicated that she shared the program with other performers, she must have had a wide and impressive repertoire to be able to charm upon every new appearance. Did she only perform French and Italian violin music, or was there a body of virtuosic music written for five-stringed pardessus?

Beginning in the 1730s, a certain amount of light, pleasant music was written for both six-stringed and five-stringed

³⁹Myriam Amissimov, "Petit histoire des juifs à Paris," *Paris, Tête d'Affiche* (July 1992), 19.

⁴⁰Pierre, *Histoire*, 91 and footnote 1.

pardessus. Solo suites by Thomas Marc (fl. 1724), Charles Dollé (fl. 1737–1754), and M. Hugard (fl. 1736), and unaccompanied duos by Dollé and Joseph Bodin de Boismortier (ca. 1691–1755), were tuneful and relatively simple to play, composed for the most part in the early galant style of the 1730s. Jean Barrière's (d. 1751?) music was more challenging technically, and musically more vivid. However, among the mid-eighteenth-century French compositions for pardessus de viole, Barthélemy de Caix's *Six Sonatas for Two Unaccompanied Pardessus de Viole, opus 1*, stands in stark relief. The work's distinctive musical profile, which might be better described as *les goûts juxtaposés* than *les goûts réunis*, and its difficulty, more challenging than ninety percent of the eighteenth-century French literature written for any size of viol, make it as conspicuous as its charm and inventiveness make it memorable.⁴¹ In Part II we will explore the possibility that Mlle. Levi played the de Caix sonatas on her Concert Spirituel programs. But in order to confirm that the work might have been written as early as 1745, we must try to place it in a stylistic continuum, however much that process might be complicated by the music's dualities—its virtually simultaneous use of French and Italian, as well as Baroque and pre-Classical, characteristics.

Eighteenth-Century Musical Style

Musical style in the second third of the eighteenth century was hovering on the edge of an almost imperceptible change from late Baroque to early pre-Classical style, a period generally described as *galant* or *rococo*. These terms, often used interchangeably, are descriptive and associative rather than analytic; musical style, like concert pitch, varied from country to country and even city to city as the changes in style occurred, and not until individual com-

⁴¹I'm reminded of a few lines from Laurence Libin's article "Progress": "Along with instruments designed to address specific musical tasks, others devised for no better reasons than to pander to decorative fashion, squelch competition by securing patent rights, or demonstrate wider commercial application of a device or process, can open unprecedented opportunities for idiom and style to develop; the inventor's motives are irrelevant." (p. 8)

posers in a new style became important enough to have their music distributed throughout the capitals of Europe did an exact definition of any new style dominate. In France this transition was overshadowed by the French-Italian feud and subsequent rapprochement, and was hidden by the pre-existing French classical style of the late seventeenth century.⁴²

When musicologists try to describe the different stages in the transition from Baroque to Classical style many find it all too easy to overgeneralize, or to exaggerate similarities or differences to make a point. The only constant during this period was change, and exploring the musical diversity of the period might tell us more than ignoring it.

For example, according to Daniel Heartz's articles in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, French pre-Classical music can be divided into three styles: an early rococo or galant period extending to 1730 and corresponding to the age of Couperin, a late rococo or galant period extending to 1760 and corresponding to the age of Rameau, and a neo-classic period that ended with the ascendancy of Haydn.⁴³

He calls the first stage, characterized by lightness and grace, the *Style Régence*. Its general characteristics are the presence of many small motivic figures, frequently changing dynamic shadings at the bar or half-bar, many slurs and other articulations, simple harmonies, periodic melodies, and formula-based cadences (Example 1).

⁴²Perceiving the transition between the Baroque and Classical periods is further complicated in France by the concurrent musical tradition that is confusingly called "classical" as well. A feature of French music throughout early modern times, the French classical tradition is identified by its economy of gesture; control of and attention to details of bowing, fingering and ornamentation; display of emotion, but emotion under restraint; and piquancy and dominance of rhythm based on attention to both dance movement and rhetoric.

⁴³Daniel Heartz, "Galant," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 7: 92–93; "Rococo," *The New Grove*, 16: 85–86.



Example 1. François Couperin, Allemande, Onzième Concert, *Les Goûts-réunis ou Nouveaux Concerts* (Paris, 1724), mm. 1–6

Heartz names the second pre-Classical style, more exaggerated in gesture and more florid in figuration, the *genre pittoresque* or *Style Louis XV*. Its unexpected harmonic turns and complications are matched with much fussy and fanciful figuration. Its special features are very short phrases separated by rests, a wealth of figuration including strings of triplets, dotted rhythms, and thirty-second note arpeggiation and scale patterns, complicated by note ornaments of all kinds (Example 2).

Heartz's third pre-Classical period, a reaction against the excesses of the pittoresque, is modeled on the eighteenth-century concept of *Style à la Grèque*. Its characteristics—a greater regularity of form, formality of gesture, limpid melody, polarization of melody/accompaniment functions and standardization of accompaniment figurations (predominately varieties of arpeggiation), avoidance of counterpoint, and more unity of style than before—lead directly to the music of those heroic figures whom the modern audience has been trained to deify: Haydn, Mozart, and their contemporaries (Example 3).



Example 3. Barthélemy de Caix, Minuet, Sonata V, *Six sonatas à cinq cordes, violons ou basses de viole* (Paris, 1745?), mm. 53–60

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SONATA XII.

Adagio.

Example 2. Jean-Marie Leclair, Adagio, Sonata XII, *Sonates à violon seul avec la basse continue, Troisième livre* (Paris, 1734)

This may be a good description of what happened in parts of Germany or France, but it neglects the style that had the most influence on de Caix. William Newman characterizes this style as associated with motivic play, a "baroque trait still cultivated by the more conservative composers," which he connects with rapid harmonic rhythm, continuously spun-out melody, and sequences in chains of dominant or mediant harmonies.⁴⁴ While he has a point, his abstract analytical terms, divorced from cultural context, don't tell us enough about their significance.⁴⁵ Compare this with Georgia Cowart's contrast of the newer style, growing from *opera buffa*, with "the older Italian opera style along with the instrumental style of Vivaldi and Tartini, which contained bold melodies, complex textures, virtuosity, and abrupt modulations typical of what we would call 'baroque.'"⁴⁶ This tells us that it was elements of the older Italian instrumental style that continued to influence composers into mid-century. The amount and visibility of the older style in a composer's musical vocabulary was determined by how he understood and practiced the concept of *les goûts réunis*, which was one of the predominant cultural themes of the first half of the eighteenth century.

Les goûts réunis, or "reunited tastes," is the philosophic process by which eighteenth-century composers and theorists reconciled the French and Italian styles of music. By the turn of the eighteenth century, solo and duo works with a continuo texture were being written in France as they had been written in Italy and

England in the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ These works with continuo consisted of contrasting sections, played without breaks. At that time a distinction was appearing between music grounded in song and music grounded in dance. The former was rhythmically free, expressive, often recitative-like, not metrically regular like a dance. By the mid-seventeenth century, sections alternating in different patterns of song and dance were separated by final cadences, and were organized into schemes called church sonatas and chamber sonatas in Italy, as well as dance suites composed totally of dances.

In France, although a few seventeenth-century composers such as Nicolas Métru and Sainte-Colombe had written unaccompanied duos, the idea of accompanied solo and duo with figured bass developed gradually from the Renaissance consort of four or five parts. By 1686, Marin Marais (1656–1728) had published a book of viol solos, with a figured bass partbook published three years later. In 1692, François Couperin (1668–1733) published the first Italian-style trio sonata in France.

Music in the Italian style remained popular for the next half-century, and while composers and philosophers disagreed about how Italian a French work should be, as well as just how that Italian influence should be manifested, a few general changes occurred. Composers began to call their works *sonatas* and to head movements with Italian affect markings such as *gratioso*, *allegro*, and *adagio*, even if the movements so headed were actually French dance forms like the minuet, gigue, or sarabande. Indeed, both the designation "sonata" and the affect markings, in common with the terms *galant* and *rococo*, were used to indicate the music's modernity rather than in a descriptive sense.⁴⁸

In terms of actual stylistic metamorphosis, some composers paid homage to the union of styles by alternating French- and

⁴⁴William Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 120.

⁴⁵In "Eighteenth-Century Theories of Musical Period Structure," *The Musical Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (October 1956), Leonard Ratner falls into the same trap, saying flatly, "Baroque music was characterized by continuous flow; phrase endings were covered and disguised by polyphonic texture, by the basso continuo, and by the momentum created when short motifs and ornamental figures were systematically developed. Classic music was characterized by well-defined articulation; phrases and periods tended to balance and complement each other, reflecting the popular song and dance idioms from which Classic music was drawn."

⁴⁶Georgia Cowart, *French Musical Thought* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 4.

⁴⁷Basso continuo is the means by which the bass line of a composition acquires textural weight, sometimes through doubling using a bass instrument (viol, bassoon, or violoncello) and a chordal instrument (keyboard instrument or lute), the latter usually improvising chords as indicated by numbers written below the harmonically important bass notes (figured bass).

⁴⁸Newman, *Classic Era*, 22.

Italian-style movements in sequence, as Jean-Féry Rebel did in *Les Caractères de la Danse*. Others grafted complete sonatas onto complete suites to create a long, bipartite work, as François Couperin did in *Les Nations*. Some integrated the two styles compositionally within a single movement, as Leclair *l'aîné* did, mixing the bravura passage work, driving rhythms, and linear ornamentation of the Italians with the limpid, short phrases, delicate note-ornaments, and lilting dance rhythms of the French. In these ways composers writing instrumental ensemble music united the French and Italian styles.

It may be a little more difficult to understand how the Baroque and rococo/galant classic styles could exist simultaneously, since Couperin and Rameau are generally thought to be composers of the high Baroque period. First and most obviously, a composer might suit the musical style to the genre, writing an opera in a more progressive style and a sacred motet more conservatively. Or his style might change over time; a long-lived composer might write in a number of different styles during his lifetime.

There is, however, a more complex explanation. A musical composition is made up of the different elements of sound, harmony, melody, rhythm, and form or growth; each element can change independently of the others. It is possible to have a Baroque melody—flexible, irregular, and balanced—supported by a simple, Alberti-style accompaniment, or a florid, heavily ornamented tune extended by Baroque sequences and irregular phrases. In this manner, a piece can retain its overall Baroque character while certain elements surreptitiously become more galant. Such a mixture may be more or less obvious to the listener, as well as being a more or less conscious choice of the composer's. This description also explains how the French and Italian styles can merge while a composer's basic style remains recognizably French, as Couperin's did.⁴⁹

⁴⁹The concurrent presence of two distinct musical styles is a common characteristic of music between periods; one example is the *ars subtilior* repertoire that spanned the Ars Nova and the Renaissance. It resulted from the cross-pollination of French and Italian musicians that occurred when the Pope moved to Avignon during the papal schism.

The Unaccompanied Duo

The connection between the modernity of a composer's style and the particular genre for which he was writing was especially visible in instrumental chamber music. During the first half of the eighteenth century the new solo and trio sonata textures were more modern and Italianate, while the unaccompanied duo literature was usually written more conservatively, in the French style. One reason for this was that the genres of solo and trio sonatas were imported, but the unaccompanied duet had flourished in France (as throughout Europe) for the previous two centuries.

Books of unaccompanied duets were written by such well-known masters as Thomas Morley (b. 1557) in England, Giovanni Gastoldi (1560–1609) in Italy, Claudin de Sermisy (1490?–1562) in France, and Orlando di Lasso (b. 1532) in Germany. Composers wrote for two soprano, alto, tenor or bass instruments or a combination of ranges, and often didn't specify the exact instrument to be used. This flexibility made the genre useful for teaching, since the duet's two-part texture made the counterpoint easy to hear, while its controlled compass and imitative nature made the music accessible to less experienced players. Some duets were newly composed. Others were based on popular chansons and madrigals that had been disseminated not only in their original multi-part, texted forms but transformed into harpsichord fantasias, viol consort pieces, and viola bastarda divisions.⁵⁰

In seventeenth-century England the unaccompanied duo took on more virtuoso forms with the fantasia-style duos of Matthew Locke (c. 1630–1677), Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625), and Giovanni Coprario (1570–1627). These were sophisticated works, as were the virtuosic divisions of Christopher Simpson (d. 1669) and John Jenkins (1592–1678). The composer or player who created "divisions upon a ground" either wrote down or improvised ornamental sequences over a relatively short, repeating bass line—the "ground." Unlike French ornamentation, which was usually centered upon a single note, or Italian ornamentation, which gestured

⁵⁰See Bruce Bellingham, "Bicinium," *The New Grove*, 2: 692–94.

above and below the existing melodic line, English divisions were both linear and formal. As set out in Simpson's *Division-Viol*, the practice of improvising divisions required the player to create balanced patterns with chords, short motives, scales, descants, and long and short trills or "shakes."⁵¹ French composers such as M. de Sainte-Colombe and Marin Marais incorporated English-style divisions into their bass viol works, and used them as the inspiration for their ornamented *doubles* of allemandes and giges.⁵²

The popularity of the unaccompanied duet, or duo, was a social and cultural phenomenon as well as a musical one. The duet's wide proliferation in eighteenth-century France is related to the nobility's fascination with dialogue and conversation as evidenced by the growth of the salon movement and the court's focus upon fluent verbal interchange as the foundation of proper etiquette. Both a musical and a nonmusical duo are a pair of

⁵¹Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Viol* (1667; facsimile, London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1965).

⁵²According to Stuart Cheney's unpublished Master's thesis, *Dubuisson: A Study of His Music for Solo Bass Viol*, French musicians were very active in England during the first half of the seventeenth century because the English queen was the sister of Louis XIII. After the century's midpoint the relationship weakened somewhat, to the point that Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in his *Traité de la Viole* (Paris, 1687), indicates no debt to the English when he discusses ornamentation and variation techniques. However, Marin Marais, in the *basse continue* to his Book I of viol suites, which was issued separately three years after the solo book came out in 1686, includes a group of ten pieces in score "pour satisfaire a l'empressement de quelques Estrangers, qui souhaitent beaucoup d'en voir de moy de cette maniere" (to satisfy the eagerness of some foreigners who very much wished to see [my music] in this manner). (Preface) These include a "sujet diversitez" in 20 couplets, very much in English style. In the preface Marais says, "Le sujet de basse, où l'on trouvera vingt couplets faits dessus, m'a esté donné par un Etranger, pour y faire toutes ces variations, que j'ay pris plaisir a travailler: car ce sujet ma paru fort bon: . . . ce mesme sujet se joue toujours pendant que la Seconde Viole varie a tous les couplets" (The bass subject [ground], upon which one will find twenty couplets written, was given to me by a foreigner to make all these variations upon, which I took pleasure in doing because the subject seemed to be a very good one. . . . The same subject should always be played while the second viol [plays all the variations]). The piece is found on pp. 90–99 in the bass book of Book I.

people who are mutually absorbed, interdependent, and self-sufficient; they require no additional person to complete them. While a social duo can part and reconnect, however, a musical duet seldom includes long solo passages; it celebrates interactivity. This insistence upon a fairly constant musical texture of no more or less than two people puts a duo at risk of seeming predictable, which many Renaissance and Baroque composers found challenging. They addressed the problem as Orlando Gibbons did, with intense imitative rhythmic activity; with a hectic inconsistency of mood, as seen in the works of Sainte-Colombe; by creating lilting melodies that carry the piece forward, as did Thomas Morley; or by using a ground bass as a structural support, like John Jenkins or Christopher Simpson. Different patterns of mutuality were explored in quick succession, ranging from polarized leader/follower or melody/accompaniment textures to parallel thirds and separate but complementary melodies. It is no surprise that duos were often titled "fantasias" or "fantasies." Other composers, such as Sermisy, constructed their duos around a pre-existent song or a characteristic dance pattern, in which cases predictability became an asset.

One difference should be mentioned between duos for two trebles and those for two basses: the melodies of the treble duos are more conjunct than those of the bass duos. After the first third of the eighteenth century, when figured bass realization was common practice by players of keyboard instruments, plucked strings, and viols, the composers of bass duos often seemed to take advantage of the general growth of harmonic awareness by writing melodies with frequent skips of a fourth or fifth and typical cadential figuration. This dual function, as melody and bass line, encouraged the development of bass duos with a more angular melodic shape and a stronger sense of harmonic direction. When, in treble duos, one instrument acts as a functional bass part, even though it may be an octave higher than an actual bass instrument, the sense of functionality is communicated as well.

While much of the treble duet literature before the eighteenth century was not instrument-specific, after the turn of the century French composers began to write idiomatically for a chosen

instrument.⁵³ Michel de la Barre (fl. 1711), Jacques Hotteterre le Romain (fl. 1712), Pierre Philidor (fl. 1718), Joseph Bodin de Boismortier (fl. 1724), and Michel Blavet (fl. 1728) wrote unaccompanied treble duos for the recorder and/or transverse flute. Expressive, imitative, and contrapuntal, these works employed detailed signs for many subtle ornamental and affective devices that compensated for the instruments' limitations of range and timbre. The first flute duos of Georg Philipp Telemann, written in 1727, were composed in a fluid international style with both French and Italian elements.

Credit for the birth of the unaccompanied violin duo goes to Boismortier and Jean-Marie Leclair.⁵⁴ It proved to be an extremely popular genre and was cultivated until the end of the century. Almost every major composer of violin music in France (with the exception of Mondonville) tried his hand at unaccompanied duos at least once in his career, along with solo and trio sonatas. Between 1730 and 1750 this included French composers such as Jacques Aubert (fl. 1731–1739), Louis-Gabriel Guillemain (fl. 1739), Monsieur Tremais (fl. 1736), Etienne Mangan (fl. 1744), Piffet *le cadet* (fl. 1750), and Italians in France such as Michele Mascitti (fl. 1731) and Jean-Pierre Guignon (fl. 1742). To this list we should add undated publications by Jean-Marie Leclair *le cadet* and Pierre Leclair (both fl. ca. 1760).

Often, composers who wrote for violin mentioned the oboe, transverse flute, recorder, musette, or vielle on their title page as alternate instruments in order to make their music as marketable as possible. Much violin music was thought to be appropriate for dessus or pardessus. A sizable list of violin composers, as well as bass viol composers such as Antoine Forqueray (1671/2–1745), mentioned the pardessus de viole as a potential alternative instrument, although they often did not specify which kind of pardessus. These works written before 1760 include sonatas by Monsieur Aty (fl. 1750), Carlo Tessarini (fl. 1750), and Monsieur Cardon

(fl. 1750), as well as Guignon, Leclair *l'aîné*, and Boismortier. In addition, recorder and transverse flute works indicating pardessus or dessus on the title page were written by Aubert, Blavet (ca. 1700–1768), Boismortier, Louis de Caix d'Hervelois (ca. 1680–ca. 1760), Guignon, Benoit Guillemant, Hotteterre le Romain, Jean-Pantaléon Le Clerc (fl. 1750), Clair-Nicolas Roget (fl. 1739–1765), and Alexandre de Villeneuve (fl. 1733).

Finally, this section on treble duet literature must include that special category of treble works written for the genre of pastoral instruments so popular at court throughout the century. To this genre belonged instruments of two types: those with drones, such as the hurdy-gurdy and the bagpipe; and those whose sound or structure was reminiscent of a shepherd's pipe, such as the recorder and, occasionally, the flute. The pardessus and the pipe and tabor were occasionally included in this company. A large and tuneful repertoire of duos was written for different combinations of these instruments by such composers as Michel Corrette (1709–1795), Nicolas Chédeville (1705–1782), Esprit-Philippe Chédeville (1696–1762), and Jean-Jacques Naudot (d. 1762). Because of their instruments' ongoing drones and consequent reliance upon a constant stream of air or roll of the wheel, composers wrote pieces for pastoral scorings that were harmonically, melodically, and rhythmically somewhat conservative, with frequent passages in parallel thirds and folk-song-like melodies. Technique was manifested by a player's ability to change and control the character of sound as well as the type and degree of inflection produced. A preponderance of the pastoral duet literature was dance suites with names such as "Les Fleurs," "Le Triomphe de la Paix," "Les Délices de la Campagne," or "Fêtes Galantes." Also, as in the time of Claudin de Sermisy, many French and Italian opera airs, called *vaudevilles*, were reprinted in treble duo form for pastoral instruments, in collections with titles such as "Les Jolis Airs" and "Recueil Nouveaux de Pièces de Différent Auteurs."⁵⁵

⁵³Lionel de la Laurencie, *L'Ecole française de violon de Lully à Viotti*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1922), 3: 126.

⁵⁴La Laurencie, *L'Ecole française* 3: 127. Their unaccompanied violin duos were published in 1725 and 1730 respectively.

⁵⁵See Green, *Hurdy-Gurdy*, 72, for a more detailed list and discussion of the repertory as seen from the perspective of that instrument.

RECENT RESEARCH ON THE VIOL

Ian Woodfield

This bibliography is intended as a concise guide to recent research related to the viol. It lists books, articles, dissertations, selected reviews, published papers, and major scholarly editions of music. Research on any aspect of the viol (and related instruments such as the baryton) will qualify for inclusion. Suggestions for additional entries in any language would be most welcome. They should be sent to Ian Woodfield, School of Music, Queen's University of Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland.

Ashbee, Andrew. *Records of English Court Music*, 8. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995.

Ashbee, Andrew, and Lynn Hulse. *William Lawes: Essays on His Life, Times, and Work*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997, forthcoming.

Ashbee, Andrew, Peter Holman, and David Lasocki. *A Biographical Dictionary of English Musicians, 1485–1714*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997, forthcoming.

Benforado, Kathy. "Donald Warnock: Interviews and Reminiscences." *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 32 (1995): 8–33.

Bruggaier, Roswitha. "Das Urbild von Johann Sebastian Bachs Choralbearbeitung 'Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland' (BWV 660)—eine Komposition mit Viola da Gamba?" *Bach-Jahrbuch* 73 (1987): 165–68.

Connelly, Patrice. "The Viola da Gamba: The Development of Its Technique and Pedagogy to the Present." M.Mus. dissertation, University of Sydney, 1995.

The treble duet literature designated specifically for five-stringed pardessus is for the most part impossible to distinguish by sight from that designated for the six-stringed; differences in the style, character, or difficulty of a piece did not reflect either instrument's stringing or tuning.⁵⁶ For that matter, pardessus duo literature was indistinguishable from the violin duo literature of the same period. It seems that when it came to idiomatic bowed string music, differences of tuning did not necessarily encourage a composer to make the music either simpler or more difficult. This reinforces the assumption that musicians of the period focused more upon the similarities of sound and execution than the differences of shape and playing position between violin and pardessus. Apparently they did not see the varieties of tuning as a liability or limitation but rather as an expression of individuality.⁵⁷

Barthélemy de Caix was among the small group of composers of unaccompanied dessus and pardessus duos. Others were Joseph Bodin de Boismortier, who published his (now lost) duos in 1736; Charles Dollé, who named both the five- and six-stringed pardessus in his opus IV, published in 1737, and didn't specify either one in his opus VI, published in 1754; and Clair-Nicolas Roget, whose 1739 and 1765 publications also contained no specification. This list, compiled from publishers' catalogues and notices in the *Mercure Galant*, is virtually complete. Thus the quantity of music for unaccompanied pardessus duo written before 1750 was actually the smallest category of all the treble duets mentioned above.

Part II will contain a discussion of de Caix and his musical influences, as well as an analysis of his sonatas.

⁵⁶The number of strings was not always specified but could often be deduced by noting the voicing of certain chords, fingerings included by the composer, or the inclusion of drones and double stops.

⁵⁷This flexibility is similar to the way in which the upright bass and electric bass are used interchangeably in our century, subject only to availability and taste.

———. "Where Were the Women Before 1800?" *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 32 (1995): 34–40.

Corp, Edward T. "The Exiled Court of James II and James III: A Centre of Italian Music in France, 1689–1712." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120 (1995): 216–31.

Fuchs, Christian. "'The Man Plays'—A Profile of a Viol Player." *Consort* 52 (1996): 4–7.

Harley, John. *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997, forthcoming.

McGuinness, David. "Gibbons's Solo Songs Reconsidered." *Chelys* 24 (1995): 19–33.

Moonen, Toon. "The Art of the Viol Maker: Toon Moonen Re-creates a Renaissance Viol Based on a Painting by Raphael." *The Strad* 106 (1995): 506–10.

Payne, Ian. *The Almain and Other Measures in England 1549–1675: Their History and Choreography*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997, forthcoming.

Pinto, David. *"For ye violls": The Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes*. Richmond, Surrey: Fretwork Editions, 1995.

Price, Curtis, ed. *Purcell Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Rose, Adrian. "The Pardessus de Viole: Notes for a Master's Thesis." *Chelys* 24 (1995): 34–46.

Smith, Mark. "The Cello Bow Held the Viol-way; Once Common, But Now Almost Forgotten." *Chelys* 24 (1995): 47–61.

Soubeyran, Marc. "Leading Parisian: 1691 Viol: Marc Soubeyran Examines a Rare Instrument by Michel Colichon of Paris." *The Strad* 109 (1996): 132–33.

Thompson, Robert. "A Further Look at the Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin." *Chelys* 24 (1995): 3–18.

Wainwright, Jonathan P. *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997, forthcoming.

Watkin, David. "Corelli's Op. 5 Sonatas: 'Violino e Violone o Cimbalo?'" *Early Music* 24 (1996): 645–664.

REVIEWS

Thomas Tomkins. *Six-Part Consort Music*. Edited by George Hunter. Urbana, Illinois: Northwood Music, 1996. Score and parts \$16.00.

Thomas Tomkins's total output for six-part consort, a Pavan and Galliard and four fantasias, is included in this score-and-parts set edited with care by George Hunter. Although Tomkins wrote these dances and fantasias late in life (he died in 1656), the music reflects a compositional style of the earlier seventeenth century more than that of his contemporaries Jenkins, Lawes, and Locke. Nonetheless, these beautifully crafted pieces often exhibit great originality in the use of chromaticism, instrumental figuration, and motivic development.

Dr. Hunter's four-paragraph introduction to the score briefly situates the music historically and stylistically, and describes the pieces' two mid-seventeenth-century manuscript sources: Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library, MSS Z 3.4.1-6, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus Sch. 64-69. Here Hunter also explains his rationale for the barlines he has added to the uniformly unbarred originals. The Textual Commentary at the end of the volume includes a more detailed description of the two manuscript sources (which, he points out, contain many errors and inconsistencies) and an annotated inventory of his editorial changes. For the second fantasia in particular, there are lengthy comments about his solutions to the editorial challenges posed by the manuscripts.

The Pavan and Galliard are unrelated thematically, but were placed together in both of the manuscripts. The Pavan's first two sections are in a broad canzona-like rhythm; the last employs faster eighth-note divisions and features antiphonal groupings of two or more voices in simultaneous rhythm. (This latter effect is typical of Tomkins's style; it appears in the concluding sections of several fantasias and the Galliard as well.) The Galliard, more buoyant than the Pavan, opens with a leaping dotted-note theme,

the voices competing in two-against-three rhythmic stresses in many measures.

Fantasia No. 1, which receives glowing praise and a detailed thematic description in Denis Stevens's *Thomas Tomkins* (New York: Dover, 1967, 166-68) is remarkable for the high tessitura in all of the parts. The two basses never move below low G, and the two trebles negotiate many high B-flats and even one C in the first treble line. The first section of Fantasia No. 2 is unusually chromatic, with persistent repetitions of one descending theme in all lines for twenty-four measures. Fantasia No. 3 is the most serene of the six-part pieces; gently ascending and descending quarter-note scale passages follow a slow-moving but dramatic opening theme. Although Fantasia No. 4 begins with a stately motive in a single voice, it soon moves from one densely textured section to the next, each punctuated with flurries of fast dotted notes or short eighth-note scales. It is definitely the most virtuosic of the four.

Dr. Hunter's editorial choices, in adapting the original notation as a practical aid to modern players, reflect the current conventions in early-music editions. He has added regular barlines to originally barless music to simplify its reading and study. He has selected clefs (treble, alto, and bass) that are reasonably close to the originals and that gambists now favor. He has employed modern time signatures, showing those from the original sources as incipits in the score. Out of respect for the increasingly knowledgeable and independent players of today, he has added no interpretive indications such as dynamics and bowing.

On the other hand, he has made several editorial choices that seem contrary to the needs both of musically curious players and of scholars. Neither the score nor the parts indicate which accidentals are editorial; this information is only in the Textual Commentary. In addition, he occasionally has added notes to replace rests (most often in the Pavan but also in the other pieces); these could have been differentiated more clearly by using a smaller font or other typographical device.

For the Pavan, the source manuscripts are something of a puzzle with respect to accidentals: Dublin has a B \flat signature only for parts V and VI, while Bodleian has a B \flat only for parts II, V,

and VI. Dr. Hunter's edition favors emended B-naturals in the Pavan's opening section, with B-flats prevailing in sections two and three. After some experimentation, I concluded that all but a few of the originally notated flats could remain, with a result richer in cross-relations but equally acceptable musically. I would not argue for one definitive solution here, but by more clearly differentiating between editorial and original accidentals, Hunter would have given players an easier opportunity to try other possible solutions themselves.

Barlines are always a point of contention, so I will simply state my preferences without questioning Dr. Hunter's carefully considered decisions. At the risk of appearing old-fashioned, I would like to see barring in 2/2 rather than 4/2 for Fantasias Nos. 2 and 4, since these contain lengthy sections of complex passages in eighth-notes with lots of interspersed rests. This would also eliminate the need for the problematic 6/2 measure (m. 53) in Fantasia No. 2. I feel that 2/2 measures would greatly improve readability and rhythmic comprehension, in spite of an increased number of ties across barlines.

Both score and parts are clearly printed and easy to read. Although some players might prefer a score design that is slightly less cramped, there is an advantage in having relatively few page turns. The parts possess almost oversized staves and notes, but each piece still fits conveniently on one page or on two facing pages. In the parts, the rests are well placed, with whole-note rests receiving more area on the staff than adjacent halves; to simplify rehearsing, multiple bars of rests are divided at numbered measures. I have three minor visual criticisms: the tie marks are not graceful—in fact, they are distracting, especially when the arch of a tie is "double" as it traverses lines; some accidentals (the sharps) nearly collide with the note heads; and the page numbers would be easier to find at the tops of pages.

All of these pieces are compositionally masterful, suitable for both amateur and professional consorts. They deserve careful, long-term study and a place on concert programs. The least technically demanding of the six is the exceptionally lovely Fantasia No. 3, which would be well suited to an intermediate or higher level consort. Its elegance and beauty make it an aesthetic thrill to

play, yet its treble lines do not exceed A on the top fret, making it ideal for performance when virtuosity is not an important aspect of the programming. The other works require an upper intermediate consort. Fantasia No. 4 is the most complex rhythmically, and the high tessitura in the treble parts of Nos. 1 and 2 make them equally challenging. The Pavan and Galliard lie between these two poles in rhythmic complexity, but also have high treble ranges.

Thomas Tomkins's six-part consort music is also available in a recently published complete collection of his viol pieces, edited by John Irving ("Thomas Tomkins," *Musica Britannica*, Vol. LIX [London: Stainer & Bell, 1991], 70–100). When one considers the many errors in the two extant manuscripts, it is well worth a trip to the library to study and compare Hunter's and Irving's up-to-date editions—which differ in their editing styles, choice of accidentals, barring, and, in a few places, rhythm and pitch. In general, the *Musica Britannica* version has fewer changes, which doesn't necessarily lead to a smoother reading. The Pavan and Galliard also can be found in "Jacobean Consort Music" (*Musica Britannica*, Vol. IX, ed. Thurston Dart and William Coates [London: Stainer & Bell, 1966], 161–64). In this less current edition, the first section of the Pavan shows yet another selection of accidentals, closer to Dr. Irving's choices.

I would like to thank the five members of the New York University Collegium Viol Consorts who joined me to play through the music and record a study tape. Perhaps not a typical selection of players, all of these graduate students are musicologists; they greatly enriched the whole experience with lively discussions about the music and the edition.

Margaret Panofsky

Thomas Lupo. *The Six-Part Consort Music.* Edited by Richard Charteris. London and Bermuda: Fretwork Editions, 1993. FE9: full score, 60 pp. \$21.00; FE9a: six partbooks, each 16 pp. \$30.50; FE9b: full score and parts \$46.50.

Not only is Fretwork among the leading exponents of English viol consort music, but General Editors Bill Hunt and Julia Hodgson have established a series of editions that rapidly have attained high respect for their quality of editing, scholarly apparatus, printing clarity, and paper stock.

Their ninth production has been edited by the prolific and peripatetic Australian scholar Richard Charteris—well known for his exhaustive studies and editions of Coprario's music, especially the series of all fifty-three five-part fantasias (published in a partbooks edition by Fretwork, FE6), which have long sat in the limbo of controversy between those who consider them to be more madrigal than fantasia and those who observe that texts have never been found for more than a few of them—notwithstanding the incipits that mark them in certain manuscripts.

More to the point of this review are the editions that Charteris has already produced for Boethius Editions of Lupo's *Two- and Three-Part Consort Music* (Boethius Editions 8 [1987]), *Four-Part Consort Music* (Boethius Editions 4 [1983]), and *Complete Vocal Music* (Boethius Editions 2 [1982]), all listed by Charteris in his valuable introduction to this present edition. He also provides an up-to-date summary of the known biographical details and the recent secondary literature that has aided us to sort through the identity of this Thomas Lupo, his family heritage from Spain and Italy, and his role within the court of King James I as one of the composers in Henry Prince of Wales's service along with Alfonso Ferrabosco II (who taught Henry to play the viol), John Bull, Orlando Gibbons, and Coprario. In mentioning these illustrious worthies (called "Coprario's Music"), grouping them through their appearance in certain known court-related manuscripts and associating some of them with the nascent use of violins in English consort music, Charteris speculates on the use of violins for these pieces, although he presents "good reasons to consider that they were written for viol consort." If a higher range

might indicate the composer's preference for violins, we should observe that these top parts never climb past a" or b♭" (top fret on treble viol or first position on violin).

Therefore, this 1993 edition appears as a kind of climax to Charteris's Lupo phase, if in no other way than the total number of parts involved. For most of the Elizabethan and Jacobean composers, six parts were the largest instrumental chamber works they produced, and provided opportunities for particular kinds of textural combinations. Most six-part fantasias employed two each of treble, tenor, and bass viols, and various combinations could be exploited for the purposes of musical expression. Appearing as a body (except for Nos. 11 and 12) in approximately eight or nine manuscripts, Thomas Lupo's twelve known six-part fantasias display a variety of compositional styles and textures, some of which are discussed in Charteris's useful introduction. For the benefit of players who have the luxury of consorting together six at a time, the following overview might help in considering the acquisition of this edition.

"Variety" is the operative word: Lupo seems to want to display in these pieces all the prevalent styles and textures of late-Renaissance music, although certain thumb-print traits do shine through as fairly consistent Lupo characteristics. Fantasia No. 1 is a good example. Its contrapuntal subject is harmonic in its implications (with tritone leaps of g-c#), but the other intervals are adjusted to suit the harmonic area yet still maintain the subject's character. Free non-thematic counterpoints fill in the texture around the subject. Cadences articulate sections, signaling texture changes: three parts generate an answer from three others; faster motion is answered by slower meditation; a full-stop cadence prepares for a lightly tripping four-part canzonetta comment and a consequent rapid-running response, cadencing again into a final slower madrigalesque broad statement.

Fantasia No. 2 is more motivic, having a subject that operates in two parts like antecedent and consequent, but can be combined in many relationships, overlappings, and groupings. This style resembles Ferrabosco II, until Lupo cadences and passes into four-part rapid-note canzonetta exchanges and slower sustained

madrigalesque dissonances—more like Morley, Coprario, and Ward.

Charteris points out in his introduction that Lupo utilized dance influences in his smaller fantasias and airs, as well as in his six-part Fantasia No. 4, where well-defined sections employ different textures and a full double bar marks a prominent change to the characteristic sustained madrigal texture. Such sectionalism is a reflection in England of the tendency in Continental canzonas (by Maschera, Gabrieli, Guami) toward separate, self-sufficient entities that eventually become movements in Baroque sonatas (by Legrenzi, Corelli, and so on), and can be seen in a number of fantasias by Orlando Gibbons, for example. But Lupo stands at the early, conservative end of that trend and never actually changes meter into galliard rhythms; he limits his variety of textures to those that move predominantly in duple meter.

Some other devices used by Lupo that show his variety should be mentioned: expressive cross-relations (such as c/c#) in his sustained madrigal texture; exchanges of three-part smaller groups rather like the block imitations of Gabrieli; a double-counterpoint subject whose two figures are treated in invertible counterpoint—something that may have originated with Ferrabosco the Elder, passed through Byrd, and was frequently used by Ferrabosco II. Fantasia No. 8 begins with the descending lamenting *Lachrimae* figure from Dowland, and manages to continue to transform that device throughout, rather like a monothematic *ricercar*. Lupo writes rewarding material for all of the players, but gives the best stuff to the basses, especially in Fantasias Nos. 9 and 10. Their dialogues display some demanding and yet idiomatic divisions, in passages that will need a good deal of work in order to produce good ensemble cohesion. Although the last two fantasias exist in many fewer manuscript sources, they bear most of the same, now familiar, Lupo characteristics.

Six-part music by any composer demands a different kind of ensemble playing than does music of three or four or even five parts. For me, playing Lupo in a six-part group seems initially to be easier than playing Jenkins, for example. But Lupo may eventually become a harder nut to crack: the amount of non-thematic counterpoint may lead the player to wonder what is the

important line, what should one bring out, where are we going? The canzonetta passages bring a crisp combination of parts; the sustained madrigal soarings and tensions give opportunities for expressive shapings and bowings; the division-style bass dialogues cause individual technical demands as well as ensemble problems. But on the whole, Lupo's variety will require from the players an alertness to the materials, an attempt to find various characters, a challenge to discover their meaning and direction in a flexible and cohesive ensemble. Charteris points out that both Mace and Simpson tell us that "the responsibility lies with the performer to 'humour' the music."

Although some later Oxford manuscripts provided organ reductions or *basso seguente* parts, none are included in these editions, as "they add nothing new to the pieces concerned"; such a blanket statement would surely invite a reply by Peter Holman. No matter how hard one tries, printing errors creep in; an Errata sheet corrects the few known gremlins. Lists of sources are given, with details of dating, as well as a quite handsome Critical Commentary. Original note-values are maintained, barring is regularized to *alla breve* 4/2, the third and fourth parts are notated in alto clef. The paper stock for score and parts is substantial and opaque—no bleed-through. The parts are well spaced and easily legible, with a single page allotted for each fantasia. Reasonable price, as well. All praise to these handsome editions.

Bruce Bellingham

David Pinto. *For Ye Violls: The Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes*. London: Fretwork Editions, 1995. 194 pp. Paperback \$19.00.

David Pinto has written a study of the viol consort and dance music of William Lawes that those who take pleasure in the repertoire for viols will find seductive. The gorgeous cover, reproducing the anonymous portrait of a handsome gentleman thought to be Lawes, overlaid with the directive "for ye violls" in Lawes's hand, prefaces a "Prelude"—an imaginary re-creation of the debut performance of the G minor Sette a6, in which Pinto calls

upon his thoroughly educated intuition to transport the reader to the court chamber music scene of the late 1630s.

Pinto provides copious musical analysis, but does so in concise, colorful, and entertaining language. He effectively captures in verbal rhetoric the narrative Lawes sets forth in music. Pinto's dialogue with the reader does, however, presuppose a knowledge of or access to the music equal to his own, and therefore can be daunting to the initiate or even demanding of the connoisseur, who will have to pull scores off the shelf in order to follow the piece in question. For anyone familiar with at least one of the setts under discussion, however, Pinto's remarks will enlighten, whet the appetite for more, and stimulate interpretive thought.

A quote demonstrates the sort of analytic comments that may aid the receptive player's interpretive formulations. Referring to the final cadential passage at the end of the Aire of the G minor Sett a6—a moment to which one member of the Oberlin Consort of Viols refers as the “descent into Hell”—Pinto notes that “the basses rear up and overpower the texture with a series of alternating two-octave vaults off their low D. The rate at which these are made whips up corresponding frenzy in the upper voices. . . . The tenors break out into independent quaver runlets, communicated to the trebles. Descending chromatics, simultaneous false relations, make their final banshee return before diminishing to a conquered whimper. It is a unique effect . . . and created by the simplest of tricks, use of the resonant open D string.”

Pinto's intimate knowledge of the musical environment in which Lawes composed enables him to ferret out at least some of the pre-existent musical materials from which Lawes may have hatched his imaginative deviations. For example, in hypothesizing that the fantasy of the Consort Sett a5 in F was a “reinterpretation of the theme and method of a six-part fantasy of Charles Coleman,” he surmises that “Lawes saw an opportunity to condense Coleman's initial point into a tighter sequence of seven crochets that cog-wheel down in overlapping thirds, before spinning off into quavers. . . .” By comparison, “the walk on which Coleman took [the theme] involved augmentation into double values and a meander into flat keys . . . before abruptly shifting pace and

abandoning the principal theme of what had threatened to become a harangue.” (p. 88)

The ultimate subject of *For Ye Violls* is the attempt to answer such questions as inevitably arise in the minds of all consort music devotees confronted with the enigma of Lawes: Where was he coming from? Did this perplexing instrumental style spring fully formed from Lawes's brow, or were there influences by teachers and contemporary composers or by concurrent genres? How did Lawes's “job description” determine his compositional output? What kind of mind could create such eccentric but profound music?

Pinto acknowledges Murray Lefkowitz's contribution to the establishment of Lawes's biography and positions the present publication as a complement to it, now that a substantial body of the composer's music is available in modern edition (mostly edited by Pinto himself). *For Ye Violls* is divided into five chapters (the first four of which are arranged according to genre, proceeding chronologically when possible): “Aire,” “Royal Consort,” “The Five-Part Setts,” “The Six-Part Setts,” and “Close.” Pinto explores the evolution of Lawes's music in various sources, showing how the composer transformed compositions by adding voices, rescoring for different instruments, and making other modifications to improve counterpoint or extend form. (It seems that any work of Lawes could have been considered “in progress,” always subject to improvement or to rescoring to suit changing taste or instrumental forces.) Along the way we are treated to speculation on such related issues as the development of two-treble scoring, the continuous tradition of four-part writing, and the evolution of suite form.

Since none of Lawes's music was published during his lifetime and so little is known of the biographical details of his life or the extent of the loss of his compositions (which includes the three- and four-part consorts listed posthumously by Henry Lawes), Pinto must construct hypothesis upon hypothesis in drawing up a likely chronology of his existing works. Having discussed the various genres in detail in the earlier chapters, the author proposes in the “Close” a tentative view of “the whole sweep of Lawes's development through the 1630s,” that time period in

which Lawes as a mature composer in his thirties seems to have composed his major works for viols and emended and re-ordered earlier ones (p. 153):

- 1628–30: early four-part aires
- 1630–34: “old” [scored Tr-Tr-T-B] Royall Consort (d-D *ordres*)
- 1635: early fantasy and “playnsong” a5 in g
- 1634–36: violin setts
- 1637–38: five-part viol setts
- 1638: “new” [scored Tr-Tr-B-B-bc for two theorbos] Royall Consort d-D aires
- 1639–40: six-part viol setts, and remainder of Royall Consort in symphyseal old–new versions

Today’s violist will find Pinto’s remarks on seventeenth-century performance to be especially stimulating in several respects. First, the enterprise of creating and performing this music involved not just players but an audience—a group of auditors who gathered for “music-meetings.” Second, these auditors knew how to listen to the musical language spoken by the composers and performers. Pinto cites well-known passages to evoke the listeners’ mind-set (pp. 70–73). Quoting Christopher Simpson (*A Compendium of Practical Musick*, 1667), he points out the essential supporting role of the audience:

This kind of music . . . is now much neglected by reason of the scarcity of Auditors that understand it, their ears being better acquainted with light and airy music.

Reconsidering Thomas Mace’s famous remarks on “Grave Musick” (*Musick’s Monument*, 1676) in light of the dependence of Jacobean fantasy on the Italian madrigal as well as the English sacred song, Pinto recommends a literal understanding of the rhetorical allusions:

Fancies . . . Pavins, Allmaines, . . . and . . . Ayres; all which were so many Pathettical Stories, Rhetorical and Sublime Discourses; Subtil, and Accute Argumentations

On the basis of the writings of Roger North (who, although not born until 1651, was a pupil of Jenkins), Pinto concludes that “a serious musical composition, be it sonata . . . or older fantasy,

should at best embody the narrative elements contained in high art.”

Thinking of the connection between madrigal and viol fantasy not only helps condition our modern ears to listen to the “narrative,” it argues for the employment of contrasting tempi (as sometimes indicated by such directions as “drag” or “come off”) and dynamics as expressive resources. The madrigal was, after all, fundamentally characterized by contrasts of “speed and repose, euphony and dissonance, counterpoint and homophony.” (p. 72) Of course, Lawes himself composed a considerable body of vocal music, and we can hear this predilection in the declamatory gesture of his instrumental melodies.

Pinto proves to be a worthy commentator. His understanding of the issues concerning Lawes and his music derives from a profound knowledge of the music and its cultural context, gained over many years of editing, playing, and otherwise immersing himself in the subject. His encyclopedic knowledge of all viol consort music produces such pithy nuggets as “the controlled and perfected gestures of Jenkins” versus “the restless innovation of Lawes” (p. 141), as well as illuminating remarks on Gibbons, Ferrabosco II, Coprario, et al., which can only enrich our interpretation of the glorious English repertoire for viol consort. My only caveat to the reader of this wonderful book is that the many typographical and other obvious small errors in editing raise the specter of additional, more serious errors that may not be immediately evident.

Mary Anne Ballard

CONTRIBUTOR PROFILES

Mary Anne Ballard has directed early music groups and taught viol and Baroque ensemble at several institutions, including the Peabody Conservatory, Princeton University, and the University of Pennsylvania. A founding member of the Baltimore Consort, she also performs with the Oberlin Consort of Viols and, most recently, The Teares of the Muses. She was one of the performers on the Oberlin Consort's recording of the five- and six-part fantasies of William Lawes for the VdGSA Recording Series.

Bruce Bellingham, Vice-President and President of the VdGSA from 1975 to 1979, was educated in Toronto (B.Mus., M.A., Ph.D) and taught at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester before settling in Connecticut in 1974. He is Professor of Music History at the University of Connecticut and plays jazz and orchestral bass. He has chaired the American Musicological Society's Collegium Musicum committee, edited bicinia publications for A-R Editions and Bärenreiter, and collaborated with Andrew Ashbee on the *Alfonso Ferrabosco II Four-Part Fantasias* for *Musica Britannica*, vol. 62.

Martha Bishop, gambist and cellist, is a past president of the VdGSA and is currently Musical Director of its annual Conclave. She performs in Atlanta with Diverse Musicke, Harmonie Universelle, and the Westminster String Quartet. She teaches viola da gamba at Emory University and Clayton State College, and cello at Agnes Scott College. Her cello studies were with Elizabeth Cowling at Woman's College of Greensboro, William Klenz at Duke University, and Walter Steinhaus at Wesleyan College. She has studied viola da gamba with John Hsu at Cornell University. Ms. Bishop is a frequent viola da gamba workshop clinician and a published author and composer of works for viola da gamba.

Tina Chancey is a founding member and Producing Director of HESPERUS, and is also a performing member of the Folger Consort and a former member of the Ensemble for Early Music

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Myrna Herzog, Brazilian-born gambist, studied viol with Judith Davidoff (U.S.) and Wieland Kuijken (Belgium), graduating in Journalism and Cello from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. As soloist and chamber player she has performed throughout Europe, Israel, the U.S., and South America, also teaching at international workshops. Brazil's leading gambist until her emigration to Israel in 1992, she has been a major force in spreading the viol in both countries. She presently teaches Viol Consort at Bar-Ilan University, where she is also working for a Ph.D. in Musicology, having as thesis topic "*Violas en Violoncelle and Quinton: Viols Sharing Features of the Violin Family.*" She is a member of The Jerusalem Consort, a frequent performer of the Bach Passions' viol arias with the Israel Philharmonic and other orchestras, and a regular soloist with the Jerusalem Baroque Orchestra. She is currently preparing, with Robert Green, the quinton entry for the revised and updated *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

Sterling Scott Jones, a native of the U.S., received his musical training at the Universities of Wisconsin (B.Mus.), Illinois (M.Mus.), and Heidelberg (Germany), at the Ecole Normale de Musique, and with Nadia Boulanger (Paris). He was a founding member of the Early Music Quartet, and performed and recorded with this ensemble for eighteen years. He has specialized in the playing techniques and performance practices of early bowed string instruments such as medieval fiddle, lyra, rebec, Renaissance viola da gamba, viola da braccio, and lira da braccio. He

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Margaret Panofsky has a B.A. degree from Stanford University and an M.M. degree from the New England Conservatory of Music. She directs a thriving viol consort graduate program at New York University and teaches viola da gamba privately; her comprehensive instruction book, *Bass Viol Technique*, was published in 1991. A freelance performer throughout the Northeast, she has made guest appearances with the New York Consort of Viols, the Fairfield Period Instrument Academy, and the New York Bach Ensemble. In the capacity of viol continuo player and soloist, she is a member of Music Before 1800 Productions, a critically acclaimed New York vocal ensemble. She has been a faculty member and director at numerous early music summer and weekend workshops.

Ian Woodfield received his bachelor's degree from Nottingham University and his master's and doctorate from King's College, University of London. He was Herschel Fellow at Bath University in 1976-1977. In 1978 he was appointed to the music faculty of Queen's University of Belfast, where he is now Director of the School of Music. His first book, *The Celebrated Quarrel Between Thomas Linley (Senior) and William Herschel: An Episode in the Musical Life of 18th-Century Bath*, was published by the University of Bath in 1977. He has also contributed articles and reviews to *Early Music* and the *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association*. His book *The Early History of the Viol* (published by Cambridge University Press in 1984) is now a classic on the subject. He delivered two lectures at the 1994 VdGSA Conclave. His most recent book is *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*, published by Pendragon Press in 1995.